A. T. ARIYARATNE
COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME I

EDITED BY
NANDASENA RATNAPALA

A Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publication

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VOLUME 1

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Edited by
Nandasena Ratnapala

SARVODAYA
VISHVA LEKHA
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A.T. Ariyaratne

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PREFACE

The Sarvodaya Research Institute began collecting Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne's writings most of which published either as pamphlets or in local and international journals are not readily available to those interested in his philosophy that gave rise to the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. The numerous pamphlets and articles depict the seeds of Sarvodaya philosophy and its gradual maturation with the progress of time. As Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka has become synonymous with A.T. Ariyaratne, an understanding of his writings is necessary to understand the rapid growth of this formidable people's Movement in rural Sri Lanka.

We at the Sarvodaya Research Institute hope to collect all what Mr. Ariyaratne has written, and publish them volume by volume for the benefit of all those interested in this unique philosophy and grass-root technology which Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka brought into being. In this first volume Ariyaratne's foremost articles written at different times beginning from the sixties are represented. They were selected carefully with an idea to give the reader an assortment of Ariyaratne's philosophical writings that would enable even a reader not conversant with Sarvodaya to 'taste' Sarvodaya's basic concepts.

The contribution made by Ariyaratne, judging from any modern academic standards, surpasses both in quality and quantity the contribution made by any other individual in the field of Community Development and Social Work not only in Sri Lanka, but may be in entire Asia. He has undoubtedly brought in 'New thinking' into the field of Community Development. What distinguishes Ariyaratne here from other contemporary philosophers is the fact that he, unlike most others, never built his philosophy only on an academic foundation. In other words he is not an armchair philosopher who dreamed about problems and probable solutions to them. He is, (as it is often unashamedly given utterance by him), a rugged villager who worked with the rural people and working thus, gained experience learning from the common man in order to form his philosophy. It was not a

strategy and a philosophy that was fashioned by him through intellectual labour but a strategy and a philosophy born out of his grass-root work among simple people. Ariyaratne says that his philosophy is still growing amending itself to suit experience and modifying itself when practical necessities dictate it so.

As the Director of Sarvodaya Research Institute, I am particularly glad that we are able to bring out this first volume with the help of NOVIB - the Netherlands Organization for International Development Co-operation, our partners in Development. We hope this volume will present both readers in Sri Lanka and outside, a representative but varied collection of Ariyaratne's writings. My introduction is for the purpose of providing a guide line of Ariyaratne's thinking to those not conversant with it. I have taken the rare liberty to analyse his writings in the light of his personal experiences which I believe has been instrumental in shaping the total personality that is A.T. Ariyaratne. In the subsequent volumes we hope to collect the rest of his writings, so that all what he has written will be there for easy reference to all those interested in him and the Sarvodaya Movement.

I am personally grateful to Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne, who never interfered at any time with my selections or with the ideas that I have expressed about him or the Movement, although sometimes I was extremely critical in my outlook. This attitude of his endears him to me and I am happy that a people's leader of his type and stature is still amenable to criticism - even when it is scathingly hostile to him. May be the Buddhist Philosophy where one is taught to regard both 'Blame and Praise' with an equanimous frame of mind has tremendously influenced him. Sarvodaya Movement's future as well as the maturation of Ariyaratne's eclectic philosophy owes much to this attitude of mind which if maintained as during the last two decades, would undoubtedly sustain the Movement in the foreseeable future.

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Nandasena Ratnapala
Hon. Director.

INTRODUCTION

A.T. Ariyaratne's published writings cover a period of nearly two decades and touch a variety of subjects directly associated with community development and social welfare. His early writings in Sinhala have in them an idealism and romanticism of a poet and this quality is traced even in his early English writings. Few people are aware that Ariyaratne himself is a poet of merit. An assorted collection of Sinhala poems, among which love poems predominate, is available with him. The majority of the popular songs which are sung by Sarvodians on different occasions owe their origin to Ariyaratne's poetic imagination. Young Ariyaratne when he moved into that historic village of Kanatoluwa in 1958 was undoubtedly fired by a poetic vision of a new social order. His Poetry, made available to me off and on, is lyrical, sensuous and fired with an irresistible idealism. No doubt his philosophy owes much to this romantic idealism which has to be understood if we are to understand the philosophical development of Ariyaratne and measure his subsequent maturity.

I spoke about Ariyaratne's Sinhala poetry and his romantic idealism because it enables one to understand young Ariyaratne at the time he took the initial step in 1958 which later on led to the birth of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. It was his poetic imagination, his sensitivity to problems around him, his love of idealism and romance that in a way inspired him to move into an under-privileged village with a band of select volunteers. It was an idealistic approach although much in tune with the prevalent thinking of the times which emphasized the exploitation of the rural villagers by the urban people and the pressing need to assist and help the villagers.

Young Ariyaratne may very well have been a utopian in his thinking. Even today traces of utopianism are discernible in his writings. He speaks fervently of change, the state that society could reach through such changes, the state that society could reach through such changes and why one should strive to

achieve that state through change. When he speaks of a Society where everyone practises the principle of loving kindness and equality one wonders whether in a human world replete with innumerable weaknesses man ever could reach such a dimension where at least loving kindness and equality could prevail. His utopianism no doubt had its origin in the current thinking of the time when our novelists and poets often spoke of such utopian dreams. But the main difference between Ariyaratne's utopian-idealism and those of others is the fact that Ariyaratne speaks with a utopian ardour and enthusiasm with his feet firmly planted in the solid ground. He confronts reality and through that confrontation has developed a strategy to solve problems and through the solution of such problems attempts to arrive at the desired state of development. It is not wrong to say that his enthusiasm and ardour are that of a Utopian idealist, the passion to strive for what he wants and needs is that of a romanticist; yet notwithstanding this, he is a grass-root realist whose feet never soar above the ground they touch.

In addition to his idealism and romanticism Ariyaratne in his young days had also flirted with radical political philosophies. He was once a Candidate Member of the Communist Party. While he was in school he had formed an organization to fight for the rights of the poor people in his village who made a living out of the production of coir. He had many a time clashed with his elders and this revolutionary zeal to oppose what he felt unjust had been the hallmark of his indomitable spirit. Revolutionary ardour was boundless in his young days and in the early years of the Movement one could discern this unbridled spirit of revolution in his writings. Marching to the village of Kanatholuwa was revolutionary in itself because whoever could fancy a band of educated and elitist men moving into a village a part of which was inhabited by the Rodiya Community (untouchables)?

If one carefully peruses Ariyaratne's writings this revolutionary spirit could be seen raising its head at every turn. One could say that the entire Sarvodaya Movement was based on such re-volutionary action. Go to the under-privileged villages, choose the most deserving of help, begin with the poorest. These were the slogans utilised in the early decade. Ariyaratne

parted company with the radical politicos on two important issues: (1) He believed that the mere advocacy of a political philosophy through pamphlets, speeches and other media would not bring in the desired revolution. Unlike the politicos who wanted to persuade the people to grant them power through which they desired to change society, Ariyaratne began to envisage a change in the *individual* man reciprocated by a similar change in society. (2) Violent Revolution cannot usher in the desired welfare of Society because violence only begets violence. If one could eschew violence and resort to non-violence, through it a fundamental change could be achieved.

His revolutionary zeal has not left him even after two decades of grass-root experience in the rural arena. Even today he considers his mature philosophy a revolutionary one.

'Firstly I believe that the problems are so vast that a revolutionary change is necessary. I mean the dictionary meaning of 'revolution', not the meaning given by various people with the connotation implied in it, because I personally believe that bloodshed is not necessary in this country to bring about a revolutionary change'.

Thereafter he goes on to explain the fundamental and simultaneous change that should take place in three areas.

'Firstly in the area of ideas, of values, of ideologies. Secondly in the area of methods and techniques that our people adopt in their day-to-day life, whether in the field of education, in the field of agriculture, in the field of cottage industries or in anything else. Thirdly, a change in the institutions beginning from village level to the national and international level. I say that there should be a simultaneous change, a change at the same time in the three spheres - of ideas, ideologies and values; a change in the methods and techniques; a change in the organizations and institutions'.*

This belief in revolution has permeated the entire gamut of Ariyaratne's thinking. As he matured through grass-root experiences he found that the ideal of a revolution could never be imparted from and transplanted in an alien soil. If a

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** See below: Influencing the Social Environment to accept Self-employment.*

revolution is to take place the seeds have to be planted in a soil that would help them to germinate. Such a soil and seeds are found in one's own culture or tradition. In Buddhism he found the seeds and in Sinhala culture the appropriate soil. He found and learned how the Buddhistic way of life has in it a revolutionary potential which could be harnessed to change man and community. This revolutionary strategy was discovered and tested by him

Revolution without violence is inconceivable in modern times. Although some would refer to Gandhi's non-violent campaign even here as such, campaigns were conducted at a time when a colonial power was occupying India, some dismissed the Gandhian non-violent strategies as ineffective in modern times. Ariyaratne receiving his inspiration from Buddhistic tradition underscores the effectiveness of non-violent strategy in meeting modern problems.

'Non-violence could be utilized as a very effective weapon more than violence to bring about lasting structural changes without demeaning the dignity and worth of the human being. What Sarvodaya is attempting to do is to apply the Buddhist principles in development-action including an effort to eradicate social, economic and political evils and injustices that plague our societies'.*

Ariyaratne is concerned not only with changing the social, political or economic structure. He is equally concerned with the dignity and worth of the human being. It is here that the importance of Ariyaratne's philosophy is best noticed. If one reads through his miscellaneous writings one would discern a common thread running through all his thoughts. The thread is nothing but his repeated emphasis on human worth and dignity. In his public speeches delivered over the country he has again and again underscored the value of man. The four basic principles of loving - kindness, equanimity, compassion and equality - the corner-stones of Sarvodaya Philosophy are the results of this often reiterated emphasis on human dignity.

It is this preconcern with human dignity and human worth that led him to believe in the popular participation in all aspects

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** See below: 'Sarvodaya in a Buddhist Society'.*

of development. His idealism inspired him to view the development of the village into a Grama-Swaraj State or Village Republic State where each village would be self-sufficing and independent. In order to achieve this effectively he visualized that popular participation in the decision-making process has to take place. Man should control and shape his own destiny. In order to do this man should realize his own worth and strength. This realization can only be achieved by popular participation in all matters that pertain to the village or community in which he lives.

What strategy could one utilize in order to make human beings realize their own enormous strength? For Ariyaratne one need not speculate or theorize in order to devise such strategies. As human dignity is best asserted in action, man must be active. Action when indulged in by a group surfaces the value of human beings at its best. Such group-action for self-help could be motivated by resorting to simple means. For Ariyaratne no problem man faces externally is grand. Every problem is simple if you view it in the correct perspective. Simple problems need simple solutions. It is our failure to see the simplicity of the problem that makes us posit grandiose solutions for such simple problems.

Ariyaratne gives us an example of a simple solution to a simple problem.* Once, when he was convalescing in a village he happened to meet a group of villagers who were in great need to get their tank bund repaired. The villagers showed a thick file which contained their correspondence with the government on the matter.

'I got the people to analyse their problems themselves assuming that there was nobody except themselves capable of solving this problem. 'How many cubes of earth'? 200. 'From where do you get this earth'? From the tank bed. 'What implements do you need to dig this earth and make the bund'? Some mammoties, earth pans. Except earth pans, other equipment could be found in the village. 'Can you suggest a

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* *See below: 'Organization of Rural Communities for Group Effort and Self-help'.*

substitute for earth pans'? Yes, sheaves of Arecanut leaves and gunny bags. 'Who can find them'? (one offered to find them). 'How many people hope to work and for how many days to have this job done'? Two hundred people working for four days. 'Tell me, each of you, how many volunteers can you organize for this work'? One, two, five, ten, fifteen ..... 'All right, who is going to feed these two hundred people'? (A rich land owner gets up). I will feed all of them for two days - 'Thank you'. 'But let me see, who can feed one man by sharing his meal with another'? Several hands went up. 'Who can feed two, three, four, five' 'Well, now we have enough food without the first offer, for all four days'. But let us accept the first offer also and organize a Shramadana Camp (camp to share labour) because I am sure two hundred more will join when they hear that one has started the work on Shramadana' .....

Ariyaratne is a firm believer in instant solutions. According to him there is no necessity to have ready made solutions to problems. In the Rural Community the problem creating conditions do themselves contain the ingredients necessary to work out a solution. Ariyaratne is wary of experts and for him the solicitation of the help and assistance of so called 'experts' to solve our rural village problems is a useless effort. Our expert should be the rural villager himself. Let us educate him, make him revolutionize his personality and think of others around him, make him feel the strength of the united community and he would himself find the instant solution. So far what we have been doing is to introduce our solutions to him.

According to Ariyaratne 'Asia lived and lives in the villages. But today she is tutored by the city. For many years to come Asia will remain 'rural'. In the past the city was but a refined version of rural values, prosperity and aspirations. Today it is the reverse. The Asian city, whose value reflects more the remains of a colonial past and which displays the condition of an imported confused industrial mass consumption, civilization dominates the rural communities'.*

To Ariyaratne who speaks 'his people's language' the rural

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* *See below: 'Mobilization of Private Philanthropy in Asia for Aid in Rural Development'.*

tradition of the past nurtured by the living examples of saints and respected leaders has in it much to teach us how to devise strategies to meet the present problems. In the rural past there was a 'harmonious integration of objectives and methods pertaining to the organization of man and matter, the final common goal of which exercise was to ensure the joy of living for all'.

The worship of the past for its sake is not Ariyaratne's purpose and goal. He finds a continuum in time in which traditions of the past handed down from one generation to the other enabled the community to strengthen its cohesiveness and fortify the spirit of self-reliance. He divides what one could discern in tradition to main groups like: (1) the traditional aspects such as norms, folkways, mores, customs, beliefs, attitudes ect. which are positive in character and which contribute to the strengthening of the cohesion in a given Community by underscoring the value of popular participation. (2) Those traditional aspects such as norms etc. which are either consciously or unconsciously contributing their share to divide man thus loosening the community cohesion, eroding man's spirit and belief in self-reliance. These two groups have to be identified and the first encouraged and promoted, if necessary modified, to suit present contingencies. It is the second group that we have to be wary of, eschew and teach others to refrain from practising it. Tradition thus if understood correctly has a tremendous and dynamic role to play in development. Ariyaratne by far is the only thinker known to me in Sri Lanka working in the field of community development who has thus advanced a theory of this nature pin-pointing the value of tradition.

The Rural Community has inherited traditional methods of 'group effort' and 'self-help'. No one needs to teach them these methods.

One has only to work with them, learn their methods, and encourage their constant use. Take for example the practice of 'Dana' of 'giving'. It is a traditional Buddhist practice from which the giver experiences joy and also accumulates merit for his future well-being. Every aspect of village life permeates with this spirit of 'Dana'. Ariyaratne identifies this practice,

gives it an operational connotation 'sharing'. He conceives 'Dana' as the practice of sharing where people share not only material things but also labour, knowledge, health etc. It is this rare insight of Ariyaratne by which he devised the operational connotations of such concepts that endear his philosophy to the common rustic villager.

Speaking the language of the common man and operating on the same grass-root wave-length Ariyaratne works even today in the village. In Sri Lanka, except for the few days one sees him at his Meth Medura Headquarters, other days of the year he travels from village to village giving utterance to rural values which the villager cherishes. In a week he meets thousands of people from all walks of life and of all ages ranging from pre-school children to village elders. He teaches them not a new philosophy but the simple rural philosophy and strategy he had learned while working with them. His philosophy and work-plan are eclectic because it is ready to change when he discovers that a particular plan does not work. He solves problems through working with the rural people and this work enhances his experience and knowledge. His writings have grown into maturity through such experiences of learning from the people by working together with them.

Ariyaratne's energy and writings are totally dedicated to the promotion of the rise of a grass-root leadership from the village. His ideal of the village leader is the villager with a mammoty in his hand, fortified by the simple philosophy of Buddhism which encourages one to treat human beings on an equal footing regardless of race, caste or religion and strives for the 'well being of all' (mind you not the well-being of the majority or an elitist group).

'The political power elite, if they are seriously concerned about solving people's basic problems, should realize that for development an inspired and dedicated leadership is needed at all levels, from the village upwards .....*

In evolving a philosophy of development Ariyaratne sees the hollowness of the elitist philosophy whether these philosophies

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* *See below: 'Organisation of Rural Communities for Group Effort and Self-*

and plans emanate at different levels from managers of political, educational, commercial, military, administrative, technocratic and national or international planning institutions. The elitist strategy, their unintelligible jargon that confuses the common man, their elusive and luxurious patterns of life, their ivory-tower isolation - all these are heavily criticised by Ariyaratne. In short, if he has his own way, he would compel the elitist class to learn from the village. De-educate yourself from the 'rubbish' you have put into your heads and begin re-educating by working with the common man. That is what Ariyaratne says and feels about the elite class.

It is a common criticism of Ariyaratne to accuse him of evolving a philosophy and strategy for the creation of a welfare state through non-political means. In other words the accusation is that Ariyaratne's philosophy and strategy never challenges the existing social, economic and political order but only helps to sustain it. Ariyaratne does not encourage people to rebel and overthrow a corrupt regime or society.

If one carefully reads Ariyaratne's writings it is difficult to understand how he is 'not political' in his strategy and philosophy. He advocates popular participation at the lowest or grass-root level. He has devised strategies such as interest-groups varying according to age, sex, occupation etc. and devises such as family-gatherings to motivate people to participate in the decision-making process. it is true that he has not taken any part either overtly or covertly in party politics. But in attempting to mobilize public participation at all levels, by encouraging the people to realize the value of human dignity and the nobleness of man and his inviolable rights as well as privileges, by constantly releasing processes of action to minimize social injustices such as caste, he is politically more alive and active than for example the politicians whose actions are limited to the few weeks spent on electioneering and who thereafter embedded in power are never seen among the people. For Ariyaratne political power does not emerge out of a barrel of a gun; nor does it come forth from the seasonal ballot you tediously cast in great hope. It comes out of mobilizing popular participation to the fullest at all levels and encouraging people to realize the dignity of human beings striving for the well-

being of all.

What is Ariyaratne's contribution to the present development philosophy? For him human development has two dimensions (i) Personal and (ii) Communal. Man must enlighten himself realizing the great potential in him, awakening himself to his rights and privileges and dignity as a human being. He must be economically self-sufficient and socio-psychologically contented and happy, his basic human needs being satisfied. That is the personal or individual side of it. Then his community should be economically viable and self-sufficient; socio-psychologically useful and contented. This contentment arising out of the satisfaction of the basic needs (of which he has identified ten) is the first step towards development. Thus development means the harnessing of all available material and non-material forces for the betterment and contentment of all human beings.

Surveying the scene in Asia and Africa Ariyaratne believes that the first step towards such development lies in identifying these basic human needs and their satisfaction through conscientisation and self-reliance. Such a step is necessary because the majority of these unfortunate human beings do lack primary basic necessities while a microscopic minority enjoys all the material comforts available. This step to satisfy their basic needs by motivating them to become self-reliant is the core of Ariyaratne's philosophy and plan of action. In order to achieve this he visualizes a fruitful marriage of modern technology and yearlong tradition. Technology however powerful it is, cannot thrive on a soil inimical to it where, for example, ignorance or meaningful superstition thrives. On the other hand technology may need modification to suit a particular society and this modification once effected gives one what one calls appropriate technology. The pith of this belief is that whatever the technology is, it should be introduced to strengthen man's faith and reliance on himself and his fellow beings. Technology thus introduced should not in any way become an instrument capable of disintegrating the forces of cohesion existing in a community.

Education both formal and non-formal is Ariyaratne's most effective weapon to be used in mobilising people and motivating

them to participate in their own decision-making processes. For him economic, political, social or whatever other powers there be, should emanate from the grass-roots and come upward. He is more a believer in horizontal power-structure than the modern vertical power structure which necessarily collects and deposits power at the top. It percolates from above and when it comes to the grass-roots nothing remains to be seen. This monolithic and unjustifiable power-structure should be replaced by a horizontal power structure where the people - not a section but the people as a totality - share power and utilize it for the well-being of all.

Education for Ariyaratne is a two way process. You teach, while you learn. He has educated himself following this process. Education is action-bound and you have to realize what you have learned in action and you learn while engaged in action. Education is not only knowledge but also wisdom which comes with the constant action in which one is engaged. It gives one pleasure by the mere engagement in it and also by the help and assistance one could give others. It is in short, according to Ariyaratne's philosophy a re-awakening, a personality development leading to a re-awakening of the entire community.

'How far has Ariyaratne's philosophy permeated in the rural villages'? if one is to count the number of villages (nearly 2,300) where Sarvodaya activity in one form or another is existent, the sheer number would indicate the nature and extent of the spread of the fruitful message. As I said earlier it is not novel message; but a message people have heard for 2,500 years. Ariyaratne 'echoes' it and its echo understandably finds its counterpart in the hearts of the rural folk. To them what Ariyaratne 'preaches' had been a remarkable and harmonious way of life. Ariyaratne's genius lies in being able to identify this dormant philosophy and plan of action giving it new flesh and blood. He has been able to do it in a manner no other contemporary of his has been able to do and the echo of his 'message' would undoubtedly reverberate through decades into the future.

N.R.

SOURCES OF THE ARTICLES AND SPEECHES PUBLISHED IN THIS VOLUME

1. A People's Movement for self-reliance in Sri Lanka.
   Abridged version of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement for Social Development in Sri Lanka:
   A Study of experience in generating people's participation, prepared for the special UNICEF meeting on the situation of children in Asia, Manila, May 1977.
   les carnets de l' enfance
   assignment children 39, July/September 1977.

2. The Sarvodaya Movement Hundred Villages Development Scheme.
   A background paper presented to the seminar on 'Mobilization of Youth in National Development organized by ECAFE, Bangkok, Thailand, 23rd September - 4th October, 1970.

3. Organization of Rural Communities for Group Effort and Self-help.
   Address delivered at the Food-Crisis Workshop, Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, Manila, Philippines, February 7th - 9th, 1977.

4. Mobilization of Private Philanthropy in Asia for Aid in Rural Development.
   Address delivered to the seminar on 'Effective Partnership for Growth' held in Manila in December 1971, jointly sponsored by the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation and the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

5. Influencing the Social Environment to Accept Self-Employment.
   Speech delivered at an International Seminar on 'Youth and Self-employment in South East Asia' in Colombo sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, 31st December 1972 to 7th January, 1973.

6. Sarvodaya in a Buddhist Society.
   Bauddha Marga, Vesak Number of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, Sri Lanka.

7. The Struggle for Equal Opportunity.
Strategies for Social Welfare Action. Proceedings of the XVIII th International Conference on Social Welfare San Juan, Puerto Rico July 18th - 24th, 1976. Published for the International Council on Social Welfare by Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1977.

8. Community Resources and Health.
Address delivered at the International Health Conference on Interaction of Health and Development, Washington, U.S.A. March 28th - 30th 1977, National Council for International Health.

9. Primary Health Care and Community Participation.
Address delivered to the WHO - UNICEF, Regional Meeting on Primary Health Care in New Delhi, November 21st - 26th 1977.

10. Sharing of Labour
World Health, Geneva, May 1978.

A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR SELF-RELIANCE IN SRI LANKA

'I sit on a man's back choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am sorry for him and wish to lighten his load by all possible means - except by getting off his back'.

LEO TOLSTOY

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is a non-political people's movement founded in Sri Lanka in 1958 and legally recognized by an Act of Parliament. It is the largest non-governmental organization in Sri Lanka, having spread its influence to more than 1200 villages.

Its activities range from local economic development to the provision of basic services for women, children and youth.

The people's participation is the foundation on which the Movement originated in the past; on this factor also depends the success or failure of the Movement in the years to come.

The literal meaning of Sarvodaya Shramadana is the 'the awakening of all in society by the mutual sharing of one's time, thought and energy'. The well-being of all, and not only of the majority, is the ideal. Shrama, or one's physical and mental energy, is the primary component that is shared with (dana) the rest of the members of one's society. Therefore, anyone, irrespective of his social or economic position, educational attainments or age, has an opportunity to join and serve in the Movement.

From a few students to 1200 communities

The founders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement were a group of students and teachers of Nalanda College, Colombo, the second leading Buddhist high school in the country. They organized holiday camps in the most backward village communities in the remotest parts of the country with two objectives in view: first, to provide the senior students and educational experience in the real life situations of the most

depressed groups of people in the country; secondly, to render whatever community service they were capable of within their limitations of time and resources, for the development of those communities. The idea caught the imagination of other similar institutions, groups and individuals, who were readily invited to join the Movement.

Within the first ten years of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, thousands of volunteers, both from urban and rural areas were attracted to work in community development projects, mostly in village areas. The second ten years of the Movement resulted in the evolution of a clear ideological basis, in a series of methods, techniques and strategies for the realization of its objectives, and in organizational structures which facilitated the implementation of its island-wide programme of social reconstruction. Today, the twentieth year since the inception of the Movement, Sarvodaya Shramadana concepts and practices have spread into over 1200 village communities in Sri Lanka. To serve these villages, 52 Extension Centres in various stages of development, five Development Education Centres, a Research Centre and a National and International Headquarters have been established.

A social development philosophy based on traditional concepts

In the third century B.C., Sri Lanka became a Buddhist country, and every aspect of Sri Lankan life - be it its social relationships, the political economy, the art and architecture, education and literature - was nurtured in the cradle of Buddhist culture. Four and a half centuries of foreign domination in Sri Lanka did not destroy this influence. The Sarvodaya concepts of social development spring from this ancient philosophy, at the core of which is 'respect for all life' or the concept of 'the well-being of all'.

Unfortunately for the people of Sri Lanka, most of the development administrators and planners of the post-independent era did not pay heed to the ancient concepts. They made the same mistake as the affluent westerners by equating modernization and urbanization with development. Hence the importance of growth and economic advancement was over-stressed. We can see in all parts of the world how much the quality of life has suffered as a result of imbalanced development policies.

Awareness-awakening and self-development

As from its inception the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has been closer to traditional concepts of social development than to modern ones, its workers emphasize the following aspects:

1. A pre-economic development through the awakening of an awareness of a) the factors that led to the socio-economic impoverishment of villages and the country, b) the factors that led to the disintegration of the social cohesion and the breakdown of cultural and traditional values, and c) the fact that the village's economic regeneration must be preceded by a restoration of social values and relationships;

2. The improvement of the standard of living of the community through the development and maximum utilization of local resources, using appropriate technical skills. The community itself should take the initiative and make the decisions with the full participation of all its members;

3. The protection and strengthening of the family in its dynamic role as a component of the community;

4. The identification and discouragement of factors such as large scale industrialization that dismember the family and result in an inequitable distribution of wealth and rapid urbanization;

5. The protection and strengthening of the village as a social entity, building and improving on the prevailing cultural paterns and value systems, rather than attempting to change them drastically;

6. The identification and removal of such forms of oppression and exploitation as caste, race-discrimination, etc.

An economic and educational development disproportionate with spiritual and cultural development results in frustrations and increasing social injustices. Hence the importance of an integrated improvement of all aspects of society.

Liberation from exploitation through self-reliance

In the Sarvodaya approach to social development, the words Sarva meaning 'all' and Udaya meaning awakening' are most

significant. The ideas of self-development, self-fulfilment, self-reliance, self-realization and non-dependence, are all under-stood in the single word Udaya.

Sarvodaya does not believe that economic stagnation and poverty are inevitable - it is consistent with the Buddhist principle that salvation lies primarily in one's own hands, be it an individual or a group. There is no alternative for the economically poor communities of the world, other than to strive for self-development as quickly as possible by their own collective efforts. The psycho-social infrastructure that is laid in a village, therefore, satisfies the prerequisites for an economic development founded on self-reliance. Villages become free to carve their own path to development instead of being victims of various outside influences, be they in the form of periodic vain political promises, sporadic receipts of welfare benefits, palliative assistance in the form of charity or aid from social service organizations, sermons from religious groups who wish to explain away poverty and preach the futility of seeking economic development - as if suffering were a divine test, or poverty were the result of past actions in previous births - and profit-motivated traders who buy up their primary products.

As constraints to development, there are two sets of factors: one within the individual, the village or the nation, and the other without. If awakening is to take place, both sets of constraints have to be removed. For example, in the case of a village, there are various divisive forces and exploitative processes within the village itself, springing from mutual distrust, which must be removed, as well as those forces from outside the village that keep the village in bondage and dependence, such as absentee landowners, money-lenders, middlemen and traders.

A revolutionary technique to awaken people to their own potential

The most outstanding contribution that the Movement has made to the social development of Sri Lanka, in my opinion, is the re-introduction of the technique of Shramadana, or the mutual sharing of labour, which in the pre-colonial days was an essential aspect of the co-operative way of life of our people. The Movement built on this heritage when it organized its camps throughout the rural areas, providing an opportunity for people to

think, plan and work together, and then evaluate their efforts. In other words, Shramadana was not just a labour camp, where a useful physical objective was to be achieved. It was a revolutionary technique, to awaken people to their own potential based on their own culture and innovative abilities.

Shramadana techniques can be utilized very effectively to develop a physical infrastructure, such as access roads to the villages, safe foot-paths to every home, a sufficient number of protected wells or a pure drinking -water supply - system for the community, irrigation canals, housing, and systems for sewage and waste disposal, prevention of soil erosion, environmental sanitation, water storage and even rural electrification. A variety of other useful projects such as tree-planting campaigns, home gardens, communal organization of ploughing and weeding and harvesting of paddy fields, are also included.

It may be well nigh impossible for a village which has been economically stagnant for centuries, to start upon all these items of work simultaneously. On the other hand, there is not a single village community in the country which cannot plan out a continous programme of feasible physical infrastructural work, beginning with the simplest tasks for which the labour, knowledge and resources that are within their control can be utilized.

Skills to utilize available resources

Sarvodaya must have an alternative to the immediate and urgent problem of the continued economic exploitation of the village by various individuals and organizations. Among the constraints to development, of which there are many, some of the most important at this stage are the need for short-term loans as capital, and problems connected with the sale and marketing of produce. This presupposes the existence of resources, a service infrastructure, certain minimum skills, sources of power (not necessarily fuel - human energy may also be included) and the necessary managerial skills at the organizational level. If one or more are lacking, they must be provided.

It is unlikely that any village in Sri Lanka is lacking in resources - at least for food production. However, certain items may be lacking for their proper utilization: certain preservatives for food processing, for example. in other cases, the infrastructure

may be wanting: for instance, the village might not have a sufficient water supply to sustain an industry, or a road for transport and communication. These items must be provided. But more important are the skills to utilize these resources, and indeed these are what are surely needed. These skills must be provided by Sarvodaya centers or governmental and other institutions.

Total village mobilization by age groups

No successful development programme based on the people's participation can be implemented without a sound organization of the community. Sarvoday advocates organizing the community into various functional groups, by age and occupation. The creation of such peer groups encourages the people to plan and implement their own programmes. However groups which have self-interests which would conflict with the interests of other groups such as political groups, groups by caste, race, religion etc., are discouraged.

Generally, the following social units are formed: a children's group (7-15 years of age); a youth group (16 and above); a mothers' group; pre-school children's group; a farmers' group; a general elders' group; a Village Council with representatives from all the groups; and specific task groups for activities such as health, cultural events, or child care for those under three and a half years of age.

Training of community workers

One of the most important functions of the Sarvodaya Central Organization is the training of community workers. For Sarvodaya does not believe that leadership imposed from above can ever solve the problems of rural people. Leadership must emerge from the village itself. Those who are recruited to undergo training in community work in the Development Education Centres must have shown proof of organizing capabilities, commitment to Sarvodaya principles, and above all, must have the acclamation of the village community itself. It is not by belonging to an influential family, nor by having had a city-based education, that one can become a Shramadana leader.

The five Development Education Centres and 52 Extension Units provide facilities for training in community leadership

skills, as well as in a variety of other vocations, the content varying according to the needs of the particular villages. Initially, many problems were faced, such as finding suitably qualified personnel for the tutorial staff, preparing suitable curricula and syllabi, etc. However, these problems have been overcome for the most part. Self-evaluating mechanisms are included in the programme so that at the conclusion of every training course, suitable modifications are made for subsequent courses.

Teaching is essentially carried out by non-formal methods, primarily discussions and work groups. Periodically, government officers of various disciplines such as teachers, agriculturists, nutritionists and doctors are invited to update, through seminars, the knowledge of both the members of staff and the trainees.

Short-term development strategies

Constraints to village development are often frighteningly enormous and will take time and patience as well as a great deal of courage to overcome. But certain immediate steps have to be taken in any village. These involve basically some relief from its debt burden and a strategy to prevent its continuation.

In the Sarvodaya short-term plan, the following actions are promoted:

- a family survey of the village, including assessment of resources and debt burden;
- formation of a 'debt reconciliation group' to assist those in debt and prevent others from falling into debt;
- promotion of a 'seed bank' and a 'commodity bank' in the village and a village 'common market' for the purchase of requirements and sale of produce;
- organization of a vigilance committee on an almost 24-hour basis, particularly for health and personal care, operating from a central place in the village;
- increase in trained human resources by working the extension centres and development-education institutes to full capacity to train youth from the villages;
- education of the population to accept, join and utilize intelligently various government services such as co-

operative production centres, credit facilities and Divisional Development Councils;

- with help from the Movement's Revolving Fund, launching of cottage industries and agricultural work in the village in order to increase the level of village income and create as much income-generating work as possible within the village itself;
- for unemployed youth, creation of agricultural farms outside the village where land is available in the form of grants or leases from the government or private sources.

Long-term development, also a political process

In the Sarvodaya long-term plan, attempts are made to bring about the integration of these operations originating from the grass-roots into those of the central, regional and local government levels. This is not only a political process in which considerable understanding between the Movement and the government must be created, but also a practical process at the local level itself, where a re-orientation must be necessarily effected towards the total development of society above all other divisive considerations.

With the help of the Sarvodaya Research Institute, the Movement is steadily building up survey reports for each village coming under the scheme, which will be of great value when integrated long-term programmes have to be launched.

Some of the more important factors that help a village to reach the self-development stage are: a sustained community spirit; unity among members of the community irrespective of caste, race, religion, or politics; generation of an income which is sufficient and which remains in the village without being extracted by outside exploitative instruments; and participation of the members of the community in all decision-making processes.

This stage can be reached only to the extent that unjust economic arrangements such as the ownership of means of production - for instance, land in the hands of a few - administrative systems and political power structures are changed so that the villagers become the masters of their own selves and their environment. The present government has gone far in this

direction when one examines the radical measures that have already been taken.

Major factors of nutritional deficiencies

In attempting to meet the community's basic needs, services for children cannot be over-emphasized.

In Sri Lanka, children between one and six years of age and pregnant and lactating mothers are the most vulnerable to nutritional deficiencies, occasionally leading to kwashiorkor and marasmus among children.

Surveys carried out to determine the causes of nutritional deficiencies revealed that malnutrition in Sri Lanka is not so much due to the non-availability of food, as to the interplay of several contributory factors. Following are some of the important causes which could be readily corrected if properly handled:

1. lack of knowledge of:
   - the food value of many food items available in the villages;
   - cooking habits which prevent waste as well as the destruction of valuable food ingredients;
   - the role played by illnesses which precipitate malnutrition;
   - proper feeding habits of infants, children and mothers;
2. poor sanitation and water supply, leading to worm infestations and intestinal diseases;
3. other disease conditions such as malaria, scabies and respiratory illnesses;
4. unequal distribution of the available food in the community;
5. some traditional food and feeding habits.

The Community Kitchen Programme

In response to the impending threat of a food shortage in 1973, Sarvodaya embarked on a Community Kitchen Programme to save especially mothers and children from possible nutritional deficiencies.

The foremost objective of the Sarvodaya Community Kitchen Programme was to provide children and needy mothers with a meal which would supplement the food eaten at home, and to take corrective measures against the above factors through health education and other action programmes, with the assistance of government health officers.

As the programme progressed both in intensity and extent, wider possibilities were realized, as, for example, the integration of community activities into the different government services at grass-root levels by the community kitchen worker, and community education in health, sanitation, and agriculture.

Organization of the community kitchen

Community kitchens are established either in a village where a Sarvodaya volunteer community worker is already active, or in villages where the people request such a programme on their own initiative.

In both situations, the villagers are helped to organize the mothers into one action group, which is responsible for the selection of the volunteer community kitchen worker. The trainee, after a two-week intensive training-course at one of the Sarvodaya Training Centres, returns to her village and begins her nutrition and education programmes.

In selecting the site for the community kitchen, special attention is paid to sanitary conditions, safety from accidents, its easy accessibility for children, adequate space and easy access to water. The villagers construct a suitable structure on a voluntary basis before the trained worker returns to the community. When they cannot put up a structure immediately, a suitable building is loaned by a villager. In emergencies, a public building such as a church-hall or temple are used until permanent arrangements can be made.

Ways to provide the raw materials are discussed by the mothers' group. Village elders are also approached for support. The daily requirements are brought to the centre by the children themselves. In many community kitchens the children bring a matchbox full of rice (equivalent to a half ounce), coconuts, greens, fire-wood and other contributions. Mothers and older girls volunteer to assist the community kitchen worker, and even the

villagers who do not benefit by the programme are encouraged to contribute to the kitchen's upkeep.

The community kitchen worker, being a volunteer, has to work out a project to provide her with her own subsistence. She normally works on a cottage industry or in an agricultural project. The Sarvodaya Youth Group in the village helps her to make this project a success.

Daily meals, health and nutrition education, home gardens

The main activity carried out in the community kitchen is the feeding of children and needy mothers, with special attention paid to pregnant and lactating mothers. No distinction or discrimination is made in relation to the social status of the beneficiaries.

Parents send their pre-school children (three to six years) daily to the community kitchen, where the worker, assisted by one or two volunteer girls or mothers, receives them. The worker carries out a rapid inspection as to their status of sanitation and evidence of any illness such as fever, rash, pain, swelling etc. Then the children are encouraged in free play with materials available. Towards 9 o'clock, they are given a glass of milk or a gruel prepared with rice, leafy vegetables, and coconut-juice. After the meal, the children continue in group play, songs, story-telling, etc. At 11 o'clock the children are given another meal of rice, vegetables, pulses and any other food items that could be collected from the village and the community kitchen garden. By noon they return home.

A sick child is given the morning milk or gruel and taken home by a volunteer assistant who will encourage the mother to take the child to a doctor.

The community kitchen worker maintains good relations with the local authorities, such as the public health midwife, sanitarian, or medical officer, and through them she arranges for immunization and deworming programmes. She also obtains their assistance in the construction of latrines and wells, and in the improvement of environmental sanitation.

As a part of her normal routine, the worker conducts a survey of the children who attend the center as to their status of health and nutrition, their immunization and family environment. She

maintains accurate records, including weight and height charts for the children, and the findings of medical examinations, noting any defects and deficiencies and the corrective measures taken.

The community kitchen worker also carries out a health-education programme with the mothers' group, particularly in the fields of nutrition, food handling, mother and infant care, home economics and family health. The community kitchen worker seeks the participation of all government officers in her area, such as health officers, school teachers and agricultural officers, as well as the members of the community, in these programmes.

With the assistance of the children, the worker grows a home garden which serves three main purposes: to develop the children's interest in agriculture; stimulate the mothers to grow their own home gardens; and supplement the kitchen's sources of food.

The community kitchen is thus the pivot around which various other activities develop, even including community dairies and the village's social and educational activities.

Rapid expansion of the community kitchen project

The community kitchen project was initially started in 1973 with community kitchens in ten economically depressed villages. Since then, this programme has rapidly expanded both in number and scope, as shown by the following table.

Year	No.of community kitchens	No. of children fed	No.of lactating & expectant mothers fed	No. of meals provided from village food
1973	14	732	681	2413
1974	116	78435	2662	34988
1975	260	1675523	42226	334292
1976	452	1076153	63117	600000

With an increasing awareness of the programme, the demand has also increased tremendously. It is hoped to establish some 400 new community kitchens annually in the future.

The Pre-School Programme

The need for a pre-school education programme was appreciated by Sarvodaya as far back as 1968. When the age for entering school was raised from five to seven years by the government in 1972, the Movement hastened to start its pre-school education programme immediately.

Organization of the pre-school by the mothers' group

The Sarvodaya pre-school is also primarily the responsibility of the mothers' group in the village. The mothers' group either on its own or after being motivated by the Sarvodaya community volunteer worker will nominate a suitable girl to be trained at a Sarvodaya Training Centre. She will then follow a three months' course on child development and factors affecting development, such as nutrition, health, love and protection, educational psychology and pre-school methods as well as the production of teaching material, and all the subjects taught in the Community Kitchen Training Programme.

After the training programme, the worker returns to her village to start a pre-school. Its organization is carried out by the mothers' group with the assistance of the youth group and the community elders.

In the great majority of villages, the pre-school and the community kitchen function as one unit to serve the same child population, and are run by the pre-school worker and the community kitchen worker with the assistance of other volunteers.

In addition to the services rendered by the community kitchen, the content of the pre-school programme is in keeping with modern principles of eduction. The worker is encouraged to collect her teaching aids and materials from the environment itself so as to make the programme more successful. Some of the more sophisticated play materials and equipment for the development of skills are manufactured by the Sarvodaya pre-school equipment-making department and supplied at nominal costs.

In some villages, the community contributes towards the upkeep of the pre-school and the support of the worker. In less affluent villages, the Sarvodaya Movement provides financial assistance.

Recognition of the pre-schools by the government

With the raising of the school entry age and the introduction of a modern curriculum of studies in grade I, a sudden demand for properly oriented pre-schools has occurred throughout the country. From among many of the schools, the government and the education authorities have accepted the Sarvodaya Pre-School Training Programme and its schools as being the best suited. Local government authorities who are anxious to have pre-schools in their areas have requested Sarvodaya to open such schools in their villages, some of which are funded by the government.

The number of Sarvodaya pre-schools in operation increased from 17 in 1972 to 147 in 1976. In the future, it is hoped to establish some 200 new pre-schools annually, for even though the demand is greater, the facilities available for training are limited.

Day-care centres for the children of working parents

This service emerged as an extension of the Community Kitchen and Pre-School Programmes, to cater to the children of working parents.

A form of day-care centre for infants and children up to three years of age had already existed for a long time in the plantation sector as both parents in the resident labour population were required to work on the estates. The mothers brought their children to the centre on their way to work. A retired woman dismissed from active labour due to a physical disability was charged to look after the children and feed them until the mothers returned at the end of the day. However, the woman was often illiterate and unaware of the basic health and educational needs of a child.

Among the rural and urban poor, the children are left in the charge of their grandparents, if still living, during the day. This system appears to work well when the grandparents are educated and in good health. But when they are ignorant and illiterate, the children receive a poor deal. Worst is when there are no adults remaining at home; in such families, an older child, often a girl from five years on up, is left to look after the infants.

Sarvodaya started its Day-Care Centre Programme first in the plantation sector, where the management agreed to release a girl of 20 to 30 years of age for training. She is paid a per diem by the

management to run the day-care centre, where the children are fed, clothed, and receive medical examinations and a pre-school education.

Subsequently, the day-care centre programme was extended to the village, where the pre-school and community kitchen workers have taken on the responsibility of manning them. Most of these centres are funded by the local government authorities and the Department of Probation and Child Care.

The Day-Care Centre Programme was started in 1976, and by the end of the year there were 12 such centres in operation. The programme is still in the infancy stage, but it is hoped to establish such centres in all the plantations and all the villages where Sarvodaya activities are in progress, by upgrading the pre-schools and community kitchens.

Children's library service

A major problem in rural communities is the lack of library facilities and reading material for children. Sarvodaya started its Children's Library Programme to meet this demand at least to some extent. The following table indicates the programme's progress over the years.

Year	Number of libraries
1969-1971	82
1972	150
1973	160
1974	180
1975	193
1976	203

The cost of books, periodicals and journals has increased greatly during the last few years in Sri Lanka, which has restrained the expansion and improvement of the library service even though it has become extremely popular with the children.

Improving community health

Improvement of the standard of health is a high priority in any social development programme. This is more so in poor countries

such as Sri Lanka, where the poor health status has a direct adverse effect on all aspects of life. To ease this situation, Sarvodaya started its Community Health Programme in 1976 with 12 community health workers.

The Programme has four main objectives:

- to bridge the gap between the community and the existing government services;
- to bring about a change in attitude within the community with regard to the prevention of illness, nutrition and food habits, child health, family health and economy, use of existing health facilities, community organization and self-help through cooperative efforts;
- to introduce new behaviours, such as drinking boiled water, washing hands before meals, using proper toilet facilities, growing home gardens, etc.
- to provide first aid, with a maximum utilization of the available resources in the community; this would include special situations such as a natural calamity or gatherings of great numbers of people, as, for example, at pilgrim centres.

Overall coordination by the Movement's Health Committee

Sarvodaya has a Health Committee comprising medical specialists, health educators, nurses and volunteer first aid workers who meet regularly to discuss community health needs. In addition, they meet in emergencies such as famines, droughts, earth slips, etc., to organize ad hoc programmes, mobilizing other volunteers such as medical students to carry out surveys, as well as to provide medical aid, health education and often food aid to the stricken area. They always report their findings to the government health services for follow-up action and coordination.

The full-time workers are responsible for the provision of simple medical care at Sarvodaya Centres, work camps, and on special occasions.

Activities of health workers at the community level

Within the community, the kitchen workers and pre-school workers provide first aid and other health services, primarily oriented towards preventive measures. In addition, where there are new Sarvodaya community health workers, they assist the community kitchen and pre-school workers, organize maternal and child health clinics in conjunction with the medical officer, and assist the parents in taking sick children to medical institutions, constructing latrines, etc. These health workers try to integrate government services and community services at the village level.

Like the pre-school and community kitchen workers, the health worker is also nominated by the mothers in the community. She is responsible to the mothers, who in turn report to the Sarvodaya Health Committee on the progress of her work.

In addition to all the subjects taught in the Community Kitchen and Pre-School Training Programmes, the following subjects are included in the six-months training course:

- environmental sanitation
- home nursing
- first aid
- use of the existing health services such as antenatal and post-natal clinics, child welfare clinics, immunization, etc.
- family health and family planning
- diagnosis of simple childhood illnesses, simple remedies, and disease prevention
- advance nutrition and food handling
- organization of children's groups, youth groups and mothers' groups.

An example of the workers' activities

Three community health workers carried out the following activities:

Adult latrines	324
Pre-school latrines	234
Wells constructed for drinking water	72
Families motivated to use boiled water	2710
Mothers taken to clinics	500
Children taken to clinics	1149
Persons taken to hospital	629

Immunizations arranged:		6963
BCG	1682	
Polio	1288	
DPT	1300	
Smallpox	1567	
Other	1126	

Children detected with nutritional deficiencies:		1578
Anaemia	214	
Bitot's spots	231	
Toad skin	258	
Dental cares	539	
Other	336	

Nutritional defects corrected	1108

As one can see, the community health programme is still in its infancy. In the future it is hoped to train two teams of 12 community health workers per year.

From central coordination to decentralization

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is essentially a volunteer people's effort. Until 1968, the Movement did not have a single full-time worker receiving an allowance. With the enormous growth of the Movement, this is no longer possible.

The Movement at present is in the midst of organizational change, from a basically centrally co-ordinated organization in

which the nuclei will be formed by each of the 52 Extension Centres. This will allow the people to oversee and understand the organization in its totality, which was no longer possible with the present organizational structure.

At the national level, the general membership - open to people of all religions, races, nationalities or castes - elects an Executive Council of 35 members, the council appoints six office-bearers who form the Movement's board, and a team of nine coordinators, each of whom is responsible for a particular field of activity. They form, together with the President of the Movement, the implementation staff.

The nine areas of responsibility are:

1. Shramadana camps
2. Pre-School, Community Kitchen and Health Care Programmes: these include both the maintenance and establishment of pre-schools and community kitchens, as well as the training of new pre-school teachers.
3. Gramodaya Centres: these deal with all village activities such as the organization of farmers' groups, youth groups, and the undertaking of joint activities with the government services; they also maintain relations with the government officials to assure that those laws which are intended to benefit the people in the rural areas do indeed serve them.
4. Development Education activities: this section is responsible for all the training programmes undertaken by the Movement - to mention a few: short-term and long-term community leadership training, two years' agricultural training, vocational training etc. The unit is also responsible for the maintenance of the existing Development Education Institutes and the establishment of another three centres.
5. Gramodaya Revolving Fund: loans are extended to Sarvodaya members, most of them trainees who have followed one of the long-term training courses, to start cooperative economic activities. Most of the loans are given for farms and rural workshops, but other activities are also supported, such as village common markets.

6. Research Centre: started two years ago, it now fulfils a monitoring function within the Movement, evaluating the planned activities of the above-mentioned sections every three months, in order to advise the coordinators on bottlenecks in the execution of their programme and provide a continuous feedback to the section concerning the quality of the work being carried out.

7. Production units: these units, giving employment to hundreds of youth, will together with the economic activities started with loans from the Revolving Fund provide an income for the Movement to carry out its activities.

8. General administration: deals with such activities as personnel management, transport, etc.

9. Finance

The coordinators of the sections meet every week, as it is this committee which is responsible for the total execution of the Movement's programme.

Economic Self-reliance

The first ten years of the Movement were totally self-financed by its members. However, its work had by then reached a stage that necessitated that other financial support be found. Several local and foreign contributions have been received since then. At the moment, the Dutch co-financing organization NOVIB supports the general programme. Other organizations such as Friedrich Neumann Stiftung, OXFAM-England and OXFAM-Canada, and 11-11-11 Campaign-Belgium are supporting special projects. Through the establishment of a number of economic activities all over the country, it is expected that the Movement will be self-reliant by 1985. A detailed plan to reach that target is in preparation.

THE SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT-HUNDRED VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

The national background at the time of the birth of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

Sri Lanka (Ceylon), like many other newly independent nations, was a victim of western colonialism for well over four centuries. Economic exploitation of the conquered peoples was the prime motivation of the colonial powers and this resulted in the imposition of a system of administration which facilitated easy revenue collection and keeping the people in subjugation under a central bureaucratic control. As a consequence of this policy, the people of the land were reduced to be either wage-earners from the colonial government and government-patronized private enterprise or to be passive degenerating communities which had to be satisfied with a subsistence economy. Except for a negligible fraction of the native population who learned the colonizer's language, embraced the latter's religion and adopted an alien culture, the vast majority of the peoples in these countries were languishing in poverty, ignorance, disease and squalor.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century certain reforms in educational, administrative and welfare institutions, were imposed by the colonisers and these were obviously in the interest of the colonizers rather than the people. On the part of the colonial peoples, there was a revival of nationalism which continued to this century with great vigour and in different forms, culminating in the concession of political freedom to many colonies immediately after the Second World War. Sri Lanka (Ceylon) won a restricted political freedom in 1948.

This freedom though limited gave the people an opportunity to participate in electing their rulers through universal franchise. The limitations were not realized by most people, for there was some sort of superficial prosperity and affluence due to a considerable amount of foreign exchange reserves left over to Ceylon's credit in the Bank of England after the Second World War. The new nation was ensured a ready supply of the staple food-rice for the common man and

luxuries and semi-luxuries for the more well-to-do people. This state of affairs could not go on for long and already by the first half of the 1950s people were beginning to assert their rights in other fields as well without being satisfied with a subsistence economy and the freedom to elect their government.

By the middle of the 1950s, the common man in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was psychologically ready to be emancipated to push the political freedom he gained in 1948 to other areas of life as well, namely, towards a cultural, social and economic freedom. They wanted a leader with a political will to champion their cause.

The people found their leader in Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike to whom they gave a decisive mandate to bring about the aforesaid far-reaching changes at the general election of 1956 which, incidentally, was the historic year of the 2500th Buddha Jayanti Anniversary. A new sense of freedom was experienced by the rural masses with his ascendancy to power. The latent aspirations and powers of the common man, which had been conditioned by the centuries old Buddhist thought and practice, came to the surface during this era. They were manifested in the form of various nationalist movements in the spheres of art, music, drama, literature and religion. In the social welfare and community development field, too, new organisations sprang up which were rooted in the indigenous culture of the people. The Sarvodaya Shramadana thought also took shape during this period of national revival.

While the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was born in an atmosphere of freedom and promise between 1956 and 1958, it had to grow and come to maturity in the context of an uncertain and gloomy political climate. Therefore, from 1959, the Movement took its own natural course of evolution with the startling velocity received at its initiation based on the thought that 'if the vision of great leaders is to be shared by the vast millions and if their objectives are to be successfully realized, civic action on the part of the people is an absolute necessity'. Thus the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was started with the specific objective of involving in a voluntary effort the rural masses and the youth in a constructive effort to:

(I) develop the personality of youth in keeping with our culture and rapid changes taking place around us,

(II) awaken rural communities to the realities of social change

and help them to become agents of such change in keeping with their own culture and interests,

(III) achieve national integration by giving opportunities for all irrespective of caste, race, religion or language to contribute their share in the common effort of nation building based on the principles of truth, non-violence and self-denial and for the objective of realizing fundamental human rights and social justice, and

(IV) bring about collaboration with people and communities with similar ideas and progressive programmes in other countries of the world for world peace, human brotherhood and development co-operation between basic groups.

2. Philosophy of Sarvodaya Shramadana

'Sarvodaya' signifies a thought and 'Shramadana' the implementation of that thought. 'Sarva' meaning all and 'Udaya' meaning awakening are two Sanskrit words which are also common to our Sinhala language. 'Shrama' literally means energy or labour and 'dana' - means sharing. Shramadana means 'sharing' of one's time, thought and energy for the welfare of all.

The Sarvodaya concept of 'the welfare of all' was Mahatma Gandhi's answer to the western political concept of the 'greatest good of the greatest number'. Mahatma Gandhi, perhaps having realised the danger of the Western concept of majority welfare being detrimental to Indian society, already divided by race, caste, religion and language, placed before his people the concept of Sarvodaya as the one thought that would unify his nation ideologically and lead it towards an exploitation-free society of equal citizens.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave continued to propagate Gandhi's idea through the world famous Bhoodan-Gramadan Movement which Bhave started in 1951. We in Ceylon were inspired by this Sarvodaya thought of Mahatma Gandhi and the Bhoodan-Gramdan action of Archarya Vinoba Bhave.

We do not allow our national pride to stand in our way when we choose to accept the best of any culture. While the word 'Sarvodaya' with its literal meaning was adopted from India, the interpretation of its deep meaning as relevant to our own Sinhala Buddhist Culture and national population is completely our own. We have our own indigenous character both in thought and action as far as the Ceylon

Movement is concerned.

Sarvodaya ideology of the Ceylon Movement has both a spiritual and material significance relevant to the individual, the family, the village or urban community, the nation and the world. The individual should have a clear and integrated idea as to why, from what and how one has to liberate oneself, one's village community, one's nation and one's world. Unless one's ideological conditioning is non-fragmentary and embraces harmoniously one's own welfare with the welfare of others, one cannot go very far as an agent bringing about effective social change.

Sarvodaya philosophy points a two-fold liberation objective every individual should strive for. First, within one's own mind or thinking process there are certain defilements one has to recognize and strive to cleanse. Second, one has to recognize that there are unjust and immoral socio-economic chains which keep the vast majority of people enslaved, and that these chains have to be removed if the human being is to experience true freedom and enjoy fundamental human rights. Thus, a dual revolution pertaining to an individual's mental make-up and to the social environment in which he lives is kept foremost in the Sarvodaya Shramadana worker's mind and behaviour.

The process of education or enlightenment or development of the personality of an individual to the fullest we call 'paurushodaya'. Only those who have as their supreme goal the development of their personality to the fullest can in the long run show others the way to the path to liberation from the spiritual and moral lapses and socio-economic ills that humanity is faced with today. This means for the individual an educational goal far beyond the present formal acquisition of knowledge directed towards a job career.

During the period of industrialization in Europe and the subsequent commercial expansion towards the East, production of wealth was a material and mechanical affair from which spiritual and humanistic considerations were totally absent and was the sole economic philosophy that interested the Western capitalists. We cannot go on with this theory. In our society, the human being is just as, or even more, important as an end in himself although we are equally anxious to increase our economic productivity to give him a higher standard of living. The dilemma we are faced with today is how to harmonize economic theory with our age-old spiritual wealth.

All human beings have both good and evil in them. The evil in man is better organised than the good in him. The Sarvodaya attempt is to organise the good in man more effectively so as to put an end to the misery in society which springs from the evil in him. Only patient and selfless service to the downtrodden, and the ever-present determination to change society while the individual himself undergoes a change, can vindicate the movement from possible ridicule and probable abuse not only by vested interests but even by other progressive movements which do not share a similar spiritual philosophy.

The Sarvodaya philosophy is a synthetic ideology and a universal concept. All forms of creative altruism and evolutionary humanism, be it from marxian aim of material integration, Rousseau's option of social integration or Asoka's endeavour of moral integration, just to give a few examples, are inherent in the Sarvodaya philosophy practised by us for ours is an attempt to bring about total human integration. The philosophy that influenced us most in evolving our Sarvodaya concept in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is Lord Buddha's teachings.

3. Inspiration for Sarvodaya from the Buddhist Thought

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement drew abundantly from the wealth of Buddhist thought which we have attempted to apply to the realization of socio-economic ideals in harmony with moral and spiritual ends. For the motivation of youth and building a leadership for the Movement the clear philosophy of life as found in the teachings of the Buddha and the culture resulting therefrom was utilized. According to Lord Buddha's teachings man's suffering is mainly due to his ignorance of the true nature of things within him and around him. In his teachings he shows a Middle Path practice for the seeker of true happiness to overcome his ignorance and the resulting suffering.

In brief the following are the three principles of reality Buddha wants us to realize by ourselves.

(i) Principle of Change or Impermanence - All phenomena whether physical or mental, social or spiritual, are caused by various factors or conditions coming together and these conditions and phenomena are in a state of constant change.

(ii) Principle of Suffering - One who fails to understand the fact that everything changes every moment and develops a strong

tendency to crave for and grasp things with greed, invariably comes to grief when he has to part with them.

(iii) Principle of Egolessness - The deceptive notion of I, me, and mine or ego is at the root cause of anger, hatred and greed. This erroneous belief in a permanent unchanging personality arising from the 'Ego' or 'I' factor Lord Buddha dismissed as false.

The three principles of Impermanence (Anicca), Suffering (Dukka) and Egolessness (Anatta) have conditioned the minds of the people in Ceylon for centuries. All other things in our lives - individual and social behaviour, economic development programmes, moral conduct and political behaviour - sprang from this central Buddhist thought. We place this teaching in its relevant perspective before the minds of those who volunteer for Sarvodaya Shramadana work. Personality Development should take place in a direction to bring about the realization of the three foregoing principles leading to correct insight.

Sarvodaya Shramadna workers are encouraged to tread the Eight Noble Steps leading to complete emancipation of a human being:

(i) Right understanding: Attainment of the knowledge and skill to know and see things as they really are, that is, to acquire correct ideas about the world and significance of life.

(ii) Right thoughts: Right understanding leads to thoughts of renunciation, good-will and non-violence in a determination to foster noble aspirations and endeavour and to be free from malice and ill-will.

(iii) Right speech: Is abstention from every kind of falsehood, slander, rude machinations and abusive language, foolish talk, chatter and gossip.

(iv) Right action: Is peaceful, honourable and pure action and abstaining from injury to any living being, stealing, sexual lust, falsehood and intoxicants.

(v) Right livelihood: Is abandonment of wrong occupations and getting one's living only by right methods. Specially mentioned as non-conducive to self-realization are selling weapons of war, butchery, prostitution, slave-dealing and purveying of poisons and intoxicating drugs.

(vi) Right effort: Is suppression of evil and cultivation of good through assiduous self-discipline.

(vii) Right mindfulness or Awareness: Is selfmastery over all one's actions through constant awareness.

(viii) Right concentration: Is mental equipoise or one's whole body and mind being permeated with a feeling of purity and peace.

(Note: One who renounces the household life completely and strives after spiritual enlightenment can tread this eight-fold path to perfection. But any ordinary man too can apply these principles in his day-to-day worldly life if he has the will to do so).

The degree to which a person can tread this Path in life may vary, according to his intellectual maturity and spiritual development; but, by treading it, he becomes a part of a mass social movement towards human progress and conscious social change. In order to help the new-comer and the less learned to understand this profound teaching, we in the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement very often make use of Lord Buddha's reference to Satara Brahma Viharana or the Four Sublime Abodes that lead man to a divine state in this life: (1) Metta (or Loving-kindness), (2) Karuna (or Compassion), (3) Muditha (or Altruistic joy) and (4) Upekka (or Equanimity). In the Buddha's dispensation those who can cultivate these states of mind can be classed among the noblest of human beings. In Sarvodaya programmes we try to cultivate all these four qualities in us with a view to improving our worth as human beings.

4. Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and rural culture

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) is a country of villages with over 85 per cent living in rural areas. There are 23.000 villages in Ceylon and the Movement works in over 200 of them. Whatever success it has achieved so far is mainly due to the understanding it has of the culture of the rural people.

The village community acted more or less as a large family, accepting four cardinal principles of social life, collectively called 'Chatus Sangraha Vastu' ('Four Principles of Group Behaviour' gives the nearest English meaning): Dana (or sharing), Priya Vachana (or pleasant speech), Artha Charya (or constructive activity) and Samanathmatha (or equality). These four principles governed our socio-economic life before the colonial powers came. Remnants of this way of life remain to this day giving us hope for its revival in the future.

'Dana' or sharing stresses the equitable distribution of wealth and an exploitation-free society. While each member of the community laboured according to his capacity, this principle enabled each to receive according to his or her need. Long before the socialist economic theories were formulated in the West as a reaction to extreme capitalist exploitation, our people practised a socialist way of life based on the Buddhist philosophy. The concept of 'Dana' or sharing was not born out of the reaction against an exploiting class, because such a class did not exist at that time. It was purely based on the knowledge that overcoming craving (or Thanha) is the sole means to Supreme Happiness. The ten virtues that a Bodhisatva (an aspirant for Buddhahood) should cultivate, the ten cardinal principles that a ruler should follow, the three meritorious actions of a follower of the Buddhist teachings and many other similar codes of conduct begin with 'Dana'. This shows the importance attached by our culture to the act of sharing. 'Dana' advocates not only common ownership or state ownership but also non-possession.

Paddy agriculture practised by the Sinhala people is an excellent example of the application of the concept of sharing to socio-economic organisation. Agriculture was the foundation of our economy and all our great kings practised the edict that 'not a drop of water that falls from the skies should flow to the sea without being put to use'. Priority was given to the construction of tanks and irrigation systems. A network of big and small tanks with irrigation canals ensured a ready supply of water to satisfy the needs of both man and beast, and their crops. The king and other members of royalty physically joined the peasants and the other members of the community in constructing and maintaining the tanks and irrigation works. All stages of paddy farming such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, manuring, harvesting and threshing were done on the principle of shared labour. This form of sharing of labour by all was called 'Samudan' by the ancient Sinhala. 'Samu' means a collection of people and 'Dana' means sharing. Later it was called 'Kayya'. In 1958 our movement introduced the word 'Shramadana'.

When an entire nation got down into the paddy fields to share their labour they had to have a time schedule for their work in keeping with the season. The 'neketha' or the astrologically auspicious time was a psychological device used by our people to satisfy this need.

The sharing of their crops or the fruits of their labour was called 'Panguwa'. The king, the monks, the physician, the service agents of

the state, the black-smith, the washerman, the aged and the widowed, all received their share or panguwa. The customs, the ceremonies, the song and dance had their due place in every phase of this economic activity. These were extremely important as they gave recognition to the joy of living and psychological contentment. Thus paddy agriculture was a way of life of our people which gave the farmer recognition for his occupation and the joy of living. It was only three hundred years ago that Robert Knox, an Englishman who lived twenty years among these people as a prisoner, made the statement that 'a Sinhala farmer when washed of his mud is fit to be a king'.

Next to sharing, the second principle that moulded our community into one nation was our use of language. The language our people used in their day-to-day life among members of the family, villagers, the clergy, the elders and children was so varied and pleasant that everyone's worth and dignity was well recognized. An elderly woman was always called 'mother' by all young people while a man or woman of similar age was addressed as 'brother' or 'sister'. The words used in the paddy-field, the temple, when on pilgrimages, were different from those that were used in normal life. Even animals were addressed with pet names like 'son' and never in derogatory terms. While equality of all was recognized, yet due recognition and respect were given to those that deserved it because of their age, maturity, knowledge or skill, and usefulness to the community.

The third principle that regulated our community organization was 'arthacharya' or constructive activity. This, too has both a material and spiritual connotation. The activities that helped for the material prosperity and social well-being of the people and which did not endanger spiritual development were promoted.

'Samanathmatha' or equality was the fourth principle. Knee-deep in the mud in the paddy field the king and the commoner worked. There was no discrimination due to caste at that time for a caste represented only a division of labour or specialization. However those who violated the moral laws were ostracized by the rest of the community as outcasts. 'Not by birth one becomes an outcast; not by birth one becomes a Brahmin (high caste); but by one's actions one becomes an outcast and by one's actions one becomes a Brahmin', was the teaching of the Buddha. Every man, king or commoner was considered equal before the law. There was no duality of behaviour between one's private life and public life as found today.

This social philosophy and practice at the rural level laid a strong infrastructure for the stability and strength of the nation. It was a strength derived from below from the high moral fibre of a people and was not the result of an imposed power coming down to the people from above. Hence the king and the rulers had a Code of Ten Principles of follow. They were: sharing, morality, beneficience, uprightness, impartiality, composure, non-harbouring of ill-will, non-violence, patience and non-revengefulness. Thus our culture was based on the principles of truth, non-violence and community spirit which identified our people as a nation. This spirit prevails to this day. A Pali stanza we recite even now has the following meaning:

'May there be seasonal rains to support our agricultural prosperity; may the entire living world be happy, and may our rulers be righteous and just in their actions'.

The strength and culture of the people as opposed to the authority of a bureaucracy was prevalent in this system. The deadweight of a governmental machinery based on an ever-increasing volume of laws and suppressive state machinery to enforce them are predominant now. The present ridiculous situation of people being asked to participate in development or the talk of a welfare state did not exist then. It was an instance of the government participating in people's efforts and a welfare society by its own right. The human being in his culture was supreme and he was largely free from authority. The freedom to change inherent in the Buddhist thought helped this apparently rigid system to be very dynamic and progressive. Colossal tanks and irrigation works, huge dagobas towering hundreds of feet into the skies, massive palaces and temples built of solid rock, rock inscriptions paintings and carvings and works of high literary stature remain to this day to illustrate the dynamic nature of this culture. The temple, the tank and the paddy field are three symbols of this culture we see in our rural areas even today.

In spite of the superstructure of a central government, bureaucracies, monetary systems, budgetary estimates, central economic planning, welfare and development departments, and government extension services, the vast resources of a people's thought and culture in our country remain largely untapped. It is on the latter infrastructure that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is built. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is only a humble attempt to revitalise this thought and culture, giving them a new trial

and a sophisticated direction according to the needs of the changed times.

It is necessary to make clear at this stage that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is not confined to the Sinhala Buddhists alone. Since Sarvodaya is an essence of all religions, people of many religious faiths and racial origins work in the Movement as brethren of one family.

Hindus, Muslims and Christians all belong to this common national culture. They have lived in friendship and harmony except on a very few occasions when foreign interests have promoted dissensions among them. Every human being is fundamentally recognized as an equal with any other human being under the Buddhist principle of Samanathmatha or equality.

5. Inception of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

Sarvodaya thought or philosophy is put into concrete action by an integrated three fold programme, (1) an educational programme, through Shramadana (2) community development programme, through Gramodaya (village re-awakening); and (3) a direct participation programme through a Grama Swarajya (village self-government) movement.

Such a comprehensive and grass-roots programme requires self-denial, great patience and acceptance of the principle that 'Only good means can bring about good ends'. It is necessary to do continuous research and evaluation of the concepts and the implementation programmes and to maintain strict non-alliance with any party and power political groups but retain same communication with them for a nobler objective. It is important to co-exist with the bureaucracy and co-operate with it for development programmes striving to bring about a fundamental change in this institution itself.

The Movement began as an educational experiment. The word 'education' is used here in the broadest meaning of the term. It is not passive accumulation of knowledge or skill by an individual or a group. it is a dynamic process of change both in the individual and the group. Further it is not confined to a particular age group. On the contrary it is a creative experience in which people of all ages and different walks of life participate as equals. The technique used is known as a 'Sharmadana Camp'.

The first experiment was carried out in a remote village called Kanatoluwa by the students and teachers of Nalanda Vidyalaya, Colombo, a leading Buddhist high school in Ceylon. The majority of students at Nalanda came from well-to-do families. It is fair to say that the pioneers of the Movement belonged to a higher class - both economically and socially - than most other youths in the country. The community they selected for their experiment, on the other hand, was one of the worst communities in Ceylon at that time. 'Could these young people build a psychological bridge to close the gap between these two classes as a first step towards total integration of these two groups'? That was the first question we asked ourselves at that time.

Kanatoluwa is situated 67 miles away from Colombo. Forty poverty-stricken families lived in this village. These people did not receive social recognition as equals from the people in the adjoining villages due to a traditional social stigma attached to their caste. Denied even the fundamental human right to earn a living by physical labour, men, women and children of this village had for generations eked out an existence through begging, their only means of livelihood. Their small plots of land were too small to sustain them by agriculture alone and the resultant dependence on begging became a habit and caused them to neglect even what land they had. Their huts were on the verge of collapse or had already collapsed. They had not a single well or latrine. There were 67 children of compulsory school going-age (i.e. between 5 and 14) who had no schooling facilities. Malnutrition and disease abounded. Eating houses, hair-dressers, and similar places closed their doors on them. Worst of all, even the clergy did not accept their alms or cater to their religious needs. In short, at the time Nalanda Shramadana Volunteers arrived for the Shramadana camp at Kanatoluwa, social ostracism was complete with all its ugliness.

Nalanda Shramadana workers prepared for this day for well over three months. Their leaders had visited the village earlier and carried out a socio-economic family survey. With the participation of the villagers they had planned what they were going to do. The material and equipment needed for different social welfare and community development tasks were collected by the students well ahead of the time. Above all, they were psychologically ready as a result of a three months training they had received to face all the obstacles including the caste barrier which they were determined to break.

As Shri Nehru, late Prime Minister of India, remarked once at a Community Development Workers' Conference, the Shramadana workers believed that 'their limbs could do it, their limbs could be made to do it and conditions could be created to do it'. For eleven days they toiled, shoulder to shoulder, with the villagers with all the energy they could muster. Every nerve was strained to find ways and means for not only to end the practice of ostracism but also to infuse life, self-reliance and self-respect into these neglected people. They sank wells, dug latrine pits, cleared home gardens and planted various crops, provided the necessary equipment from furniture to the school bell, from clothes to books for the school and the children and inaugurated a formal educational programme, organized literacy classes for adults, conducted health lessons and demonstrations, child and maternity care work, singing and dancing classes and they even established a place for religious worship for the people. Personnel from the Rural Development Department and several other departments associated themselves with the volunteers and assisted them in the campaign.

Kanatoluwa was a hive of activity. Hundreds of visitors from far and near visited the camp. Surrounding villagers in particular had the shocking experience of seeing men, women and children, led by this group of teachers and students who were supposed to be from a higher stratum of society, living and sweating with the so-called outcasts, whose very sight had made them tremble with repulsion only a couple of days before. The lectures, discussions and meetings held every evening made Kanatoluwa a real school of life for all-young and old. How these suspicious observers gradually appreciated our mission and changed their attitudes towards these innocent people was apparent to the campers as the days passed by. A revolution in the minds and hearts of every one of us was complete and the first experiment in selfless labour to realize the lofty ideals of a Sarvodaya Society was successful.

The Hon. Mrs. Bandaranaika (who later became our Prime Minister), seeing the project, made the following entry in the Camp Log Book on 16th December 1958.

'It has given us great pleasure to see the wonderful work done by all those who have been responsible for the development of the village. The wonderful spirit of service and the enthusiasm displayed by the students of Nalanda Vidyalaya is very praiseworthy. We hope

all other schools will follow their example and come forward to help in the development of our backward villages'.

All newspaper editors gave wide publicity to this project and editorially commended this venture.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement quickly started to become a nation-wide Movement of social regeneration. Teachers and students from a large number of schools - big and small - social service bodies village groups and trade unions started writing to us requesting an explanation of the philosophy and techniques we adopted. More and more villages wanted our help to organise Shramadana projects. During the period 1958-1966 over 1,500 lectures, over 50 seminars, 6 national conferences and hundreds of discussions were conducted to explain Sarvodaya Shramadana to diverse types of people. Within a year after the inception the Movement was taken out of Nalanda to a separate central office, and a national association representative of all people in the country was formed.

6. Shramadana comes of age

The word Shramadana had a magical effect. In effect the Shramadana action spread faster than the Sarvodaya thought. Between 1958 and 1966 more than three hundred thousand volunteers were taken to hundreds of rural sites to participate in community development projects through Shramadana Camps. In these camps volunteers both young and old displayed the highest qualities of self-discipline and self-sacrifice and won the hearts of thousands of their fellow-countrymen particularly in the rural areas. This released a flood of altruistic energy that lay hidden in the sinews of the nation.

Shramadana spread throughout the country. It took the form of building and repair of houses; digging of wells; the construction of latrines, clearing of irrigation canals; cleaning of cities, temples and ancient sacred sites; planting of trees in gardens; growing of food crops; transplanting, weeding and harvesting of paddy etc. Shramadana became a household word and many other smaller groups and organisations also adopted the Shramadana approach to the solution of many social and economic problems.

As the Movement expanded, not everything went smoothly. The Movement had its own problems of finding finance and keeping pace with its expansion. It was without a single full-time paid worker. The

burden of training volunteers, preliminary surveys of villages, discussions with village communities and selection of project priorities, organisation of travelling, accommodation, food and tools for the volunteers etc., were shouldered by a team of dedicated volunteers. The volunteers were also otherwise employed as teachers, clerks doctors, workers, etc. in their normal working week. They found time for the Movement during their after work hours, week-ends and vacations.

In our operations we also faced difficulties from a few bureaucrats, politicians and land-owners. This was mainly due to a failure on our part to bring home to them the depth of our philosophy and value of this Movement generally for our nation. But the majority of officials, politicians and well-to-to people we came across gave us willing co-operation.

We continued our work quite successfully undaunted by criticism and victimization and without being carried away by praise. Shramadana was popular both in Ceylon and abroad. A few years later the Department of Land Development, with foreign aid, started a scheme under the name 'National Service Branch'. After some time the name of this Scheme was changed to 'National Shramadana Service'. This development caused concern in our Movement because under the attractive word 'Shramadana' we had already built up a certain philosophy, followed certain principles and adhered to a certain code of conduct. A Shramadana campaign led and manned by departmental officials inevitably could not give that freshness of outlook and dynamism which volunteers gave. For them Shramadana was 'a freelabour Movement' or creating non-monetized capital.

We had to accommodate ourselves to the new situation and we came to a working arrangement with the Government Shramadana Scheme. On their behalf we undertook some projects such as the cyclone relief and rehabilitation programmes. For our own projects, this scheme loaned vehicles, tools and implements. This arrangement came to a sudden halt when in 1966 the new Director of the Government Shramadana Scheme pointed out to us that it was a wrong procedure to have supplied vehicles etc. to us as a voluntary organisation. Under the circumstances we had either to abandon most of our future plans and continue as a body doing volunteer social service or had to look for other sources that could assist us. We took the latter course and for the first time in November 1967 we

approached private individuals and donor organisations for support. Our work spoke for itself and we received a good response.

Up to the end of 1966 we undertook only specific items of work in villages. Those were completed by organizing large-scale Shramadana camps where sometimes over one thousand volunteers worked on a project. This patient and arduous building up of the Movement for nine long years gave us the following results:

(i) the people as a whole gave general recognition to the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

(ii) the Movement was able to recruit a large membership by getting them to participate in camps and experience the usefulness of the work.

(iii) the Movement and its leadership were able to obtain a first hand understanding of our rural problems, and to recognize general principles that could be applied in planning out and inplementing rural reconstruction work.

(iv) the Movement grew in stature and organisational efficiency to undertake large scale community development projects.

(v) a new generation of an inspired and trained youth leadership was evolved to under-take such national ventures.

With this background of hard work, direct experience and national recognition the Movement sponsored in 1967 its biggest venture to date, namely a 'Hundred Villages Development Scheme'. The occasion was in preparation for Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Centenary celebrations in 1969.

7. Gramodaya (Village Re-awakening) Programme: '100 Villages Development Scheme'

Why a hundred villages?

The idea of a hundred village scheme first came up at the Annual Conference of the Movement held in 1966 at which we discussed how best to celebrate the Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Centenary (which fell in 1969). The idea was accepted and steps were taken during the last quarter of 1966 to select the hundred villages in such a way as to get them evenly distributed within the 22 Revenue Districts of the island. According to that position average number of five villages per district would come within the scheme. Apart from the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations and the significance of the association of the

name of Mahatma Gandhi in the Sarvodaya Movement of India, there is no other reason for choosing the number a hundred. In actual fact, today, the number of villages which has come under the Scheme has far exceeded two hundred. By 1975 we propose to work in 1,000 villages.

How selection was done

Through the medium of national Sinhala and Tamil Newspapers by Radio Broadcasting and by the official monthly journal of the Movement, 'SARVODAYA', very wide and repeated publicity was given to the proposed Scheme. The Headquarters of the Movement invited applications from or nominations of villages. A large number of individuals and organisations sent in their suggestions, and a specially prepared data sheet was sent to all of them for completion and return. Thus the following preliminary data about each village were collected:

Location (Grama Sewake Division, D.R.O's Division, Electorate, District, Province, Closest Town, Village boundaries),

Access route to the village by railway, bus motor car, jeep,

Active volunteer organisations already existing in the village, Government agencies available in the immediate vicinity, Extent of the village,

Main crops, industries or crafts,

Employment position and prospects,

Number of families and population,

Main economic social and other problems which the community faces,

Ways in which the community can participate in development work,

List of names of local village personnel who can be associated with the development work,

A suitable venue and date for a preliminary meeting in the village itself,

Once this questionnaire is filled up and returned to the Sarvodaya office, a team of trained volunteers visits the village, conducts a preliminary survey and has a discussion with the villagers and others as found necessary; then it reports back. The Executive Council of the Movement takes the final decision as to whether or not to include a particular village in the Hundred Villages Development Scheme.

Initiation Programme

Once a village is included in the scheme immediate steps are taken to organise a series of Shramadana camps in the village to satisfy the biggest felt need of the community which can be completed with voluntary labour and for which the capital expenditure involved is the least possible. Some examples of such initiation projects are: restoration or desilting of village tanks, opening up of new irrigation canals or clearing the existing ones, and the building up of motorable access roads to the village. The active participation of the village community is sought and fostered from the very inception and at all stages such as project planning, camp organisation, evaluation of work and follow-up planning. This phase of the work is handled with great care by a team of experienced camp organizers specially oriented for the purpose. To assist these organizers, teams of volunteers (of varying numbers depending on the size of the project) are taken with them to reside in the village and work with the community.

A Sarvodaya Shramadana work camp has proved to be the most effective means of destroying the inertia of any moribund village community and of evoking appreciation of its own inherent strength and directing it towards the objective of improving its own conditions. The Sarvodaya Shramadana volunteers act as catalysts or energizing agents and providers of the necessary guidance on methods and techniques of Shramadana group work and community organisation. They do not stand aloof as a separate group but deliberately and willingly identify themselves with the village people and try to live as an integral part of the village community. They share the villagers' hardships, do manual work with them, eat the same food and live with them, learn while teaching them and sing and dance for and with them. The spiritual motivation that has made them volunteer for this selfless labour, the freshness and unpatronizing approach of the votunteers, all add up to release the hidden but innate goodness and co-operative spirit of the villagers. All this happens while a Shramadana is in progress.

Experience has proved that for the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement the least difficult task has been that of getting community co-operation. The Sarvodaya philosophy provides a basis for everybody to meet at a common level and rise above all divisive forces in the village. Caste, creed, class, party-

politics and factions are readily forgotten.

A workable and realistic programme which can be carried out without dependence on governmental funds and bureaucratic procedures sets a tangible goal before them. Given the necessary sincere leadership and a scientific plan of action, a dynamic community action programme is set in motion. Such is the manner in which initiation of the development programme in each of the hundred villages is done.

A Shramadana camp described

A Shramadana camp may be defined as a place at which men, women and children who have accepted the Sarvodaya thought have come to live and work together for a certain period of time, varying from two days to a month. They accept two objectives when they encamp in the village - (i) experiencing their traditional social living based on the principles of sharing, pleasant language, constructive activity and equality; (ii) sharing their labour to complete a physical task that satisfies a long felt need of the community.

A Shramadana camp needs a lot of preparation. Teams of village youths undertake preparatory work in connexion with the accommodation of volunteers, collection of food rations, provision of sanitary facilities and water for drinking and washing, bringing together the tools and implements necessary for the project, marking out the area where the physical work is to be done (e.g. marking a roadway), and informing and soliciting co-operation from the neighbouring communities and governmental officials.

The central organization has to select and train volunteers from among those who volunteer from schools, universities and elsewhere. The training is very general and includes:

(i) basic philosophy and principles of the Movement,

(ii) code of self-discipline,

(iii) problems facing the rural people in general and the village community concerned in particular,

(iv) the targets to be achieved in the camp and follow-up,

(v) facilities available and the probable problems to be encountered,

(vi) working details including the camp timetable and transportation details,

The central organization also undertakes to supplement the efforts of the organizers at the village level by providing in advance the deficit food, tools and equipment, if such a need arises. A camp programme, too, is normally prepared and circulated among the volunteers, villagers and others.

After the preparatory stage comes the camp stage. The volunteers from outside arrive and encamp with the village-volunteers, villagers and others.

After the preparatory stage comes the camp stage. The volunteers from outside arrive and encamp with the village-volunteers. The numbers participating from outside may vary according to the size of the village, the nature of the project and the volume of labour input required.

The camp is normally inaugurated in the evening around 6 p.m. . A fair number of village men, women and children along with youth gather at the camp site at this time. A youth leader who is assigned to conduct proceedings invites a village elder or a village child to inaugurate the camp by lighting the traditional coconut oil-lamp and hoisting the national and Sarvodaya flags. This is done to the chanting of 'Pirith' or religious stanzas by monks if they are present or to the singing of a Sarvodaya Song.

This ceremonial opening is followed by what we call a 'family gathering'. The idea being that all the people gathered consider themselves to be the members of one family and in that spirit discuss their problems and the ways and means of solving them. A Sarvodaya elder or a youth leader initiates a dialogue with the people who participate as equals. The volunteers have come to learn and not to teach; they have come to share and not for charity. All are seated on mats spread on the floor. The village elders, men, women, youth and children seated in a circle shoulder to shoulder with volunteers from outside soon feel one with them and fearlessly express their views.

A mass education programme is thus set in motion where the history of the village, their habitual customs and beliefs, their problems and aspirations are readily discussed. Relevant quotations from great religious teachers and other great men are read and explained. Song and dance items are intermixed with serious

discussions regarding community, national and international problems. Family-get-together of this nature with a total duration of about four hours a day are held daily in Shramadana camps. Hence one sees the rare sight of a university professor or a college principal seated on a mat with illiterate villagers, youth and children exchanging experiences and learning from each other.

To quote Professor Hewage ('Metta' Page 110 Step 7.28): 'Peaceful villages united and contented traditionally, but torn asunder within the last two decades into lazy, aggressive, corrupt, warring groups, due to party politics and its after-effects, now found new solace in the family get-together, organized by the Sarvodaya Workers. Some of the leaders of these villages, both men and women, went even to the extent of bursting into tears after coming together for this project with a common goal. The Sarvodaya Social Philosophy in action in these Shramadana Camps was found to be miniature peoples universities, communicating new knowledge and skills to the literate and illiterate alike in addition to the material benefits they brought to the village by completing work projects'.

Generally around 8 p.m. the campers have their meals. Another campers' meeting follows where formation of work teams and allocations of work for the following day are done. With a sing-song and a few minutes of meditation the first evening in a Shramadana Camp ends around 10.30

Targets for the First Year

The first year of development for a village in this scheme is the period of ten to twelve months immediately following the initial Shramadana camp. During this first year the following targets are expected to be realised through the Shramadana Camp:

(a) To complete the development tasks that have been undertaken for the first year and thus bring into being in the minds of village people the sense of latent strength they possess as a community.

(b) To cultivate nobler individual and social values; to acquire elementary scientific and technical skills and know-how; and to learn to engage in intelligent and active participation in group and community action programmes.

(c) To discover a group of young and intelligent village leaders from among the members of the village community and

provide them with the necessary training in the Sarvodaya methods and techniques of community development with a view to developing them ultimately into village level Sarvodaya extension workers.

(d) To bring together existing village level leadership and new blood to form into a common village planning body (Gramodaya Sabha - Gramodaya literally means village awakeing).

(e) To link up with the village development scheme and educational or similar institution close to the village, training a group of young people selected from such a body and obtaining their active and voluntary participation in village projects.

(f) To conduct a thorough house to house survey of all the families of the community with a view to collecting all possible data pertaining to their present economic, social, educational and cultural life, to the health and medical services and their expectations in regard to these in the future.

(g) To provide opportunities for three national level Sarvodaya workers (preferably university graduates) to get a thorough understanding of the present conditions prevailing in the village and trends of future changes with a view to becoming a part of a body of 300 rural reconstruction resource personnel emerging from all the 100 villages belonging to the Scheme.

(h) To bring into being for each village project a link with one foreign community group of welfare agency for mutual help and fraternal understanding.

(i) To bring into being for each village project a link with one private local voluntary body or a supporting agency possessed of financing resources.

(j) At the end of one year after the initiation of the programme, to evolve a three-year long-term development scheme for the village based on

(1) the findings of the survey

(ii) evaluation of the first year's progress.

(iii) available village, local and foreign resources, human as well as material.

(iv) the degree to which the village people are ready to shoulder the stresses and strains of such a consciously laid down plan and finally.

(v) the physical limitations of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement whose meagre material resources do not by any means entitle it to be looked upon as a rich organisation.

Experience has shown that not all these targets can be achieved by the Movement in every village where we have started work during the specified period owing to several reasons, including: (i) lack of sufficient finances, (ii) lack of sufficient trained and full-time workers (we have only 30 full-time workers at the moment handling 225 villages).

Village level organization

The primary objective of the Sarvodaya philosophy and programme is the fulfilment of man. The Sarvodaya appeal is directed towards the transformation of the individual and through the individual the family, the village, the nation and the world. However, the approach is not exclusively in the realm of human values nor its growth linear in character. It is a very practical and an integrated application of the Sarvodaya thought to the solution of numerous social, political, economic and moral ills and injustices. These are inter-related and inter-dependent. Therefore the Sarvodaya approach is to solicit the active participation of every child, youth, mother, farmer and others in this Movement. Through their direct participation in organized groups the Movement makes an attempt to:

(i) bring about a change in their ideas, attitudes and objectives according to the Sarvodaya philosophy;

(ii) bring about improvements in the methods and techniques adopted by people in their day to day life specially in economic production, distribution and consumption.

(iii) bring about change in their existing organizations and institutions for the better.

The village level organizations that are progressively formed as the village development scheme developments are: (i) A children's group (Singithi Haula), (ii) A mothers' group (Mau Haula), (iii) Youth group (Yovun Haula), (iv) Farmers' group (Govi Haula), (v) Others' group (Samudan Haula), (vi) Village Re-awakening Council

(Gramodaya Sabha).

One of the first groups that is organized in a Sarvodaya village is the children's group, composed of children below the age of 14. The decision to organize a children's group is generally taken on the suggestion of a child at a family gathering in a Sharmadana Camp. The child is more or less induced to do this when he hears an account given by the participant from another village coming under the Hundred Villages Scheme.

The older children and younger brothers and sisters of youth members of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement are also organized at the central level as a union of Sarvodaya children's groups. The group takes the initiative to help the children organize themselves by giving them a pamphlet which explains the objectives, principles and activities of the children's group and which has a detachable application form.

The first activity of the children's group is to start a children's library. The Movement helps to put up the building, equip the library with furniture and books, and organize the library council. The children's library scheme is supported by the World Assembly of Youth through the UNESCO gift-coupon-scheme. In addition to the issuing of books and provision of facilities for reading the children's library is also the centre where a variety of children's activities are conducted.

Children take pride in being identified in their participation, to belong to this group and to carry a card. The children's organization becomes the starting point for the formation of other groups and much of its success depends upon the dedication and efficiency of the adults who guide this programme.

The second group organized in the villages is the mothers' group. Some of its objectives are proper bringing up of children, home improvement, religious work, moral re-awakening and activities to supplement the family income. They are also linked with other villages through the Sarvodaya union of mothers' group.

The third group is the youth group. They begin with what they can do in the village such as community development and education projects, recreation and sports. As and when assistance comes, the youth groups start agricultural and cottage industrial ventures to bring them an increased income. These young people participate actively in

Shramadana camps in other villages coming under the Sarvodaya scheme. Thus they are brought together with youth from other rural and urban areas. They too at the national level become a part of the union of Sarvodaya youth.

The fourth village level group is the farmers' group. In fact in paddy agriculture alone there are 1.1 million farmers employed in Ceylon. On them depend nearly 7 million members of their families. Their monthly income is Rs. 50 (i.e. less than US$ 10). The farmers who live in Sarvodaya villages organize themselves into farmers groups with five clear objectives before them-namely to:

(i) ensure unity among farmers.

(ii) win freedom from exploitation and right of participation in farming agricultural policy and implementation of programmes.

(iii) improve productivity in paddy agriculture.

(iv) safeguard agricultural values associated with paddy agriculture and

(v) make occupational recognition of farmers a reality.

In the fifth group all others who do not belong to either of those categories such as teachers, government servants, craftsmen, artists and musicians are included.

These five groups separately meet on different days of the week at the village centre. They discuss their problems and programmes at these meetings. All the groups together meet once a week. The village awakening Council or the Gramodaya Sabha is a body representative of all these groups. Each representative individually and the council collectively are in over all responsibility of the entire development programme of the village.

Organizational responsibility

The entire organizational responsibility for central planning and: projects execution of the Hundred Villages Development Programme is borne jointly by Central Executive Council (35 members) of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. This is a completely voluntary and non-professional body and no paid professional workers are employed at present. The office and field staff of the Movement too, consist of volunteers most of whom are young university and college graduates who utilize their after-work hours, holidays and vacations to

carry out their assignments. Most of them are teachers, senior college students, university professors and lecturers, government and mercantile employees, and Buddhist clergy. There are few full-time young volunteers who have chosen to serve the Movement as full-timers till they find employment. Thirty of them are paid a monthly living-allowance and their travelling expenses are borne by the Movement.

Specific items of work carried out

Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour are mobilized in required numbers, both from among the village people and from volunteers, to carry out an integrated programme of development and welfare work in each of the 100 villages. Some of the items of work are:

1. construction of motorable approach-roads to villages,
2. renovating village tanks and irrigation canals,
3. assisting in paddy cultivation by providing voluntary labour for ploughing, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, threshing, etc.
4. starting new cottage crafts and home industries and helping those that are being already carried out,
5. construction of wells for bathing and drinking purposes,
6. construction of low cost houses and lavatories for each home,
7. conducting community education classes, lectures, seminars, and conferences, both for young people and adults,
8. literacy and cultural programmes such as traditional music and games,
9. establishment of children's libraries community centres, recreation facilities and places of religious worship.

Deshodaya - national re-awakening programme

In March 1970, as a result of a resolution adopted at a Sarvodaya village leaders' conference consisting of Gramodaya council members, an Alliance of Sarvodaya Villages was founded. The objectives of this organization are:

1. helping one another for mutual village development,
2. exchange of experience in village development,
3. taking steps to solve problems that are common to rural people,

4. taking up rural development policy matters with the Government,
5. striving to win the basic rights of rural populations, and
6. helping to bring about national integration.

Vishvodaya: world re-awakening programme

Our attempt is to get people of all countries together into this programme. Already nearly 50 of our villages have been brought into development-co-operation with school children and youth groups in Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Japan and New Zealand through the good offices of the UNESCO Gift-Coupon-Scheme, the World Assembly of Youth and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Branches in those countries. Sarvodaya Shramadana groups are already active in the Netherlands, Belgium and England trying to apply this philosophy to some of their social situations. Creating a concern for the economically less developed countries, whipping up public opinion to pressurize their governments to treat the so-called Third World with justice and fair play, organising non-violent campaigns against colonialism and neo-colonialism, armament production and war are some of their activities.

Looking ahead

A careful perusal of the foregoing chapters of this paper will show the reader that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, though it involves large numbers of youth and is led by youth, is yet something more than a youth programme. The Movement undertakes community development projects but it is something more than a mere community development activity. It makes use of assistance from government as well as private individuals and organizations but do not exclusively depend on them. It participates in national development efforts but is equally concerned with the welfare of the entire humanity.

No doubt construction activities involving youth have great value for the community, but we cannot stop there. In actual fact these activities are not even the beginning of a total revolution to build up man and society. If however these lead to a total change in the outlook of man both towards himself and towards others in the community and also lay an infrastructure that is necessary for a self-generating progressive society, that they may be said to be on the right path. Otherwise we will only be scratching the surface and not attacking the

problem at its roots. To provide piecemeal solutions to basic problems is self-defeating. We should not forget the revolutionary aspect of the youth movement where they demand that social foundations be relaid, wherever necessary, so that all people have equal chances and opportunities to jointly manage their own affairs democratically and freely.

On 27th May 1970, our people stepped on to a new era with a new people's leadership taking over the reins of government. This new leadership is pledged to a socialist democratic programme. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is hopeful of a better deal now and expects to expand the Hundred Villages Development Scheme to 1,000 villages during the course of the next five years. It also expects to expand its leadership training programme with the establishment of the proposed rural youth leadership training centre. An expansion of the pre-employment voluntary youth service scheme is also considered.

Still, we do not know what is in store for our Movement which largely depends on the good-will of all. But we are sure that what individuals, groups, nations, and the humanity as a whole now need is a form of 'dynamic harmony'.

Ours is an endeavour to achieve 'dynamic harmony' through non-violent direct action by the three-fold programme of education, development and participation so far described in this paper. We do not align ourselves with party politics or power block but try to build up enlightened people's actions from below as the fastest and the most effective means our contemporary society has for rapid social change. We are re-discovering and re-activating the forces of non-violent potentialities in youth 'for building the defences of peace in the minds of men'. Exploitation of man by man any where in any form is violence. Calling a halt to exploitation or violence in all fields, economic, political, administrative or social - by non-violent direct action is the duty of all who believe in total freedom. The Movement provides the youth a humble opportunity to do that duty.

ORGANIZATION OF RURAL COMMUNITIES FOR GROUP EFFORT AND SELF-HELP

'Nobody needs teach rural communities 'group effort' and 'self-help'. Sharing is an inherent characteristic among the rural poor, in particular. This is very necessary for their survival, even if they live below-the poverty - line level, to defend themselves against the exploitative arms of a commercial civilization making further inroads to their hum-drum way of life'.

I

There seems to be a general belief among development thinkers, planners and administrators that rural communities are a disorganized lot and therefore they should be organized for group effort and self-help. Without such an exercise in Organization, it is presumed that their master plans, research findings and political decisions which are designed to improve the conditions of the rural communities can never be meaningful nor effective. I cannot subscribe to this view. On the contrary, I reject totally this approach at the root of which I believe is an arrogance on the part of such thinkers, born out of a feeling of belonging to a decision-making establishment which has power over the helpless rural communities.

Nobody needs teach rural communities 'group effort' and 'self-help'. Sharing is an inherent characteristic among the rural poor, in particular. This is very necessary for their survival, even if they live below the poverty-line level, to defend themselves against the exploitative arms of a commercial civilization making further inroads to their hum-drum way of life.

The real question, therefore, is to examine what are the constraints that exist inhibiting the expression of their group effort and self-help qualities designed to improve food and nutrition levels, clothing, shelter, health, sanitation, education and cultural life? The next question is how the rural communities can be helped to remove these constraints? What are the ways and means by which appropriate sciences and technologies can be integrated

into the life of rural communities without disturbing their yet surviving cohesive qualities and without exposing them to further enslavement by such advanced knowledge and techniques?

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is an ongoing experiment in Sri Lanka which is trying to find practical answers to the above question for nearly the last twenty years. The word 'Sarvodaya' connotes totality. 'Total development of man and society'. 'Well-being of all'. Harnessing the goodness of all for the well-being of all', may be regarded as some of the meanings that can be ascribed to 'Sarvodaya'. Shramadana, is the sharing of one's time, thought and energy. This is one of the important means of achieving the well-being of all. How best can the intelligence, knowledge, skill and capabilities of the members of a group be pooled together for the benefit of themselves and the society?

In Sri Lanka, the old social order achieved for it and ensured the establishment of a contented, dignified and satisfied people, for centuries on end. With the advent of commercialism from the West and the subsequent conquests of our land by foreigners, the old order broke down without being replaced by a viable new one. The values, technologies and socio-economic political structures were never replaced as a coherent whole resembling the old stable society where the elements of individual, family, village or national life fitted one into the other most beautifully and fuctioned as a harmonious whole.

This then is the real crisis - man and his society his environment and knowledge running amok like a dislocated planetary system ending up in collisions and destructions. We therefore experience food crises, energy crises, pollution crises and a myriad of other crises which are merely the symptoms of a deeper basic crises - a psychological crisis in the very essence of our civilization. In this context, I believe, that the only hope lies in man's quest to rediscover himself and his society from the point of a total human personality, a total family unit, a total rural or urban group, and a total global family. Simultaneously, there should be a process of elimination of contradictions which have given rise to inequalities.

II

After a serious illness, I was convalescing in my wife's village where hardly anybody knew me by sight. I was advised complete rest

by my doctors specifically, not to address public meetings. That's why I went to this village to seek rest for two weeks, undisturbed. But on the second day, a Buddhist monk who was passing by my house recognized me and asked me how long I was going to be there and whether I had decided to do any business. He did not know I was seriously ill. The next thing that happened was that of the monk coming back after two days with a printed hand-bill announcing that I was to speak in his village on Shramadana. I responded to his request though reluctantly, and there were about sixty people gathered at the meeting. I asked them what their biggest need was. They said they needed their tank bund in the village to be completely repaired, to conserve water to irrigate their paddy fields. They said that the bound would also serve as a motorable road to the village. Then they showed me a thick file where they had corresponded with the government for fifteen years to get this job done.

I got the people to analyse their problem themselves assuring that there was nobody except themselves able to solve this problem. What do you need to construct the tank bund? Earth. How many cubes of earth? 200. From where do you get this earth? From the tank bed. What implements do you need to dig this earth and make the bund? Some mammoties, earth pans, pick axes etc. From where do you get them? Except earth pans, other equipment could be found in the village. Can you suggest a substitute for earth pans? Yes, sheaves of arecanut leaves and gunny bags. Who can find these? (One offered to find them). How many people have to work for how many days to have this job done? Two hundred people working for four days. Now tell me, each one of you, how many volunteers can you organize for this work? One, two, five, ten, fifteen .... Allright, who is going to feed these two hundred people? (A rich land owner gets up). I will feed all of them for two days. Thank you. But let me see, who can feed one man by sharing his meal with another. Several hands went up. Who can feed two? three? four? five? ....Well now we have enough food without the first offer, for all four days. But let us accept the first offer also and organize a Shramadana Camp because I am sure two hundred more will join when they hear we started the work on Shramadana. When shall we start the work? During the next week-end. So why do you need to petition the government? Allright, let us burn your file containing fifteen years of correspondence and start afresh with our own self-reliance written in.

A working committee was formed to make the preparations. I myself joined the villagers and the job was finished by tea time in the afternoon of the very first day of the camp itself. In this instance, what I did was to remove the constraint, that file which stood between the people's problem and the solution which was well within their reach. That is a classic example of breaking down the self-made barriers of 'Dependence'.

Rural communities have their own potential which can be evoked, provided (i) they have a thought which unites them (ii) techniques within their capacity and (iii) an organizational structure under their control.

I was invited to a meeting which was widely publicized. But there were only seven people for the meeting' The meeting was held in a small school at the foot of a hill. I explained the virtues of self-help and Shramadana and fixed up a date to begin the construction of a 3 1/2 miles roadway, to the top of the hill where there were three villages. We fixed up the dates and the preliminary things that were necessary to start a camp were planned. Before I left, one man out of the seven called me to a side and said that the organizer who called me to the village was an 'Eccentric'. I told him, our country needs more of such eccentric men and asked all of them to go to schools and other places where they could find volunteers and also explained to them about making other required preparations such as obtaining permission from the land owners for their strips of land, tools etc. The job was done in three months and the crazy man could muster for work over 1200 people a day on the average to put in over 90 days of Shramadana; today, there is a motorable road to the three villages mentioned. The popularity of this man who was disinterested in power-politics frightened the local power wielding politicians and that is why this man's image was completely destroyed by various false accusations against him, such as calling him an eccentric; An excellent development leader of the people would have been lost to the Community if not for this timely intervention.

The political power elite, if they are seriously concerned about solving people's basic problems, should realize that for development, an inspired and dedicated leadership is needed at all levels, from the village upwards. Generally such people are not power-seekers. They get more satisfaction from their sense of

achievement and service, in the field of human development.

In a small dry zone village, there lived 27 families. They are the owners of 40 acres of paddy land which can be cultivated during the rainy season and half of which can be cultivated during the dry season, if they conserve water in their tanks. At the time we started work in the village, their tank needed repairs which we did with them through a Shramadana ('Sharing of Labour') Camp. Many other welfare activities also were done. But the economic condition of these people never improved. It took us two years to realize that all their lands were mortgaged to a merchant in the city. They worked in their own lands as only wage labourers of this rich merchant. They got all their basic food and other requirements on credit from this merchant who also maintained accounts for these illiterate people, regarding the credit they owed him. All the rice ration books of the village people which entitled them to a free measure of rice and other food subsidies were also pawned to this man for a pittance, when they had to tide over difficult times such as when they fell ill. Yet these 'Grateful' people looked upon this merchant as their 'saviour' because he indulged in philanthropy when there was a need for small loans at times of distress, like that of a death in the family. Redeeming the debts of these people, organizing easy credit introducing basic literacy, organizing marketing facilities, and the imposition of good discipline through the medium of the village family gathering, changed the economic situation of this village remarkably. They were thereby able to donate to the Movement over 2000 dollars to be used for other villages from one season's harvest alone which incidentally, was a bumper harvest;

Two years later, the village was back in the old situation, because a government servant who was a boarder in that merchant's house frightened the people on one hand calling the Sarvodaya volunteers violent communists and got the district administration to withdraw the co-operation to our volunteers calling them reactionaries and C.I.A. Agents. The government servant was a contributor to a so called progressive newspaper, espousing the cause of the downtrodden poor. How ironic!

Poverty, hunger, illiteracy disease and all other social ills are closely linked with exploitative relationship between the haves and the have-nots. Sometimes, the champions of the poor are disguised exploiters!

III

The workers of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka for nearly twenty years have had hundreds of experiences like the three described before. Each rural situation has a unique characteristic which has to be tackled in a way proper to that specific situation. On the other hand, every situation has elements, in varying degrees, of a political - economic, bureaucratic - ethnic - geographical and historic nature. It is the analytical capabilities of a leadership from among the community itself that can bring about a change for the better, in the long run. The community as a whole should be awakened by a leadership coming up from among the members of the community itself.

How is the Movement going to find these leaders? What is the sort of training they should be given? How should they be followed up and further assisted to bring about self-development in their villages without imposing the will of the trainers themselves on their plans? These were some of the questions that the Movement had to find answers to.

For the last twenty years, Sarvodaya has organized hundreds of Shramadana Camps in the villages. These Camps are the recruiting grounds for village leaders - generally youths between 18 to 25 years of age. Participation in Shramadana Camps is the first exposure of these leaders to a self-analysis, problem identification and search for solutions.

Opportunities are provided for groups of 10 to 20 youths, at one time, to come and live for short periods, for example for two weeks, in Sarvodaya Development Education Institutes. These Institutes are organized in such a way that the whole community of members, sometimes as many as 300 persons live a family type of life, during their residential training. Social and physical environment, customs and educational programmes at these Institutes are all reflections of the village life itself. Thereby we make sure that they are not initiated to a Western type of training. The instructors themselves are senior rural youths in the Movement, who have had a long experience in tackling village problems in their own unorthodox ways. What they are after as young people were not to test other people's social development theories but to be inspired by the challenges they had to face and find practical ways to solve pressing problems of the communities

of which they were part and parcel. Therefore, even though they lacked a university or higher education, yet they were able to inspire and guide other youths with their secondary level education which they could put into more practical use than those equipped with higher education.

There are six Development Educational Institutes of the sort described above, which have been established so far. Two of them, cater to more than 300 persons at one time, while two others have around 100 residential youths in each one of them. The fifth one is especially meant for Buddhist monks who have been traditional community leaders of Sri Lanka. The sixth one is yet in the formative stage.

Development Educational Institutes are the most development form of youth training centre that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has evolved so far. The content of the Sarvodaya Training Programme embraces both welfare and development aspects, in social development integrated into one. Pre-School organizers, nutrition workers, health-care workers, community development workers, wood workers, metal workers, appropriate technology workers, village planners, village level cottage-craft workers, masons and builders and co-operative promoters are provided with skills in these institutes while they live, more or less a community life not different from those in their village setting. I am not going to elaborate on the work done in these centres.

A second category of centres which have come to be known as Sarvodaya Extension Centres are units we have developed as an intermediate stage between a village and a Development Education Institute. At these centres, four young people each in charge of Shramadana Camps, Nutrition, Pre-Schools and Health Care Training Programmes and Economic Programmes, function as a team. These Extension Centres play a coordinating and a supporting role to the development efforts of over 1000 villages in which the Sarvodaya Movement is at present active, in varying degrees. The Movement is striving to establish 50 Centres in all during the course of this year.

Functions of the Sarvodaya Extension Centres are:

(i) Co-ordination of all development plans and their implementation in all villages linked with this Centre.

(ii) Storage, distribution and collection of tools and equipment used for Shramadana Camps.

(iii) Maintaining of all records pertaining to the villages and various development and welfare activities carried out by the Movement.

(iv) Storage, distribution and accounting of milk powder and other food stuffs gifted from the Centre.

(v) Meeting place for monthly get-together of members of the Council of Elders of the area, representatives of youth, monks, mothers, farmers or other groups or full-timers of the Movement.

(vi) Conducting Training Programmes for Pre-School and Community Kitchen Workers, Shramadana Camp Organizers, Village Librarians and according to the needs, other specialized workers, such as those needed for agricultural, woodwork, metal work, appropriate technology cottage industries, co-operatives, or any other economic management unit.

(vii) Conducting Educational Classes with the assistance of Government Extension Officers in the area so that the village will get the full benefit of the Government Extension Services in rural areas.

(viii) Maintaining close relationships with the Development Education Institutes and the Sarvodaya Headquarters at Meth Medura, Moratuwa.

The fundamental Sarvodaya principle underlying the Movement's relationship with village communities is: to help village communities to overcome the ideological, technological and structural obstacles that stand in their way to building up of a self-generating and creative way of life in which their fundamental human needs can be satisfied.

The Shramadana Camp technique is the initiation process for an integrated change in these three areas. Shramadana helps them to come together psychologically and physically to undertake common tasks. It helps them to use their own know-how and technologies. Further it stimulates them to think of new structural relationships they can adopt among themselves in their economic

and political relationships, to ensure a healthier social environment.

The Shramadana Camp is a technique that can be continuously used by any village community from the most primitive to the most progressive. The infrastructural work such as access roads to the village, soil conservation, village tanks and irrigation systems, health and sanitation facilities, play-grounds and even constructional work, such as wattle and daub houses and community centres etc. could be realised by this method. In other words; an excellent foundation for the satisfaction of basic human needs, on a programmed basis, can be achieved by using this instrument of Shramadana Camps by an enlightened and dynamic village leadership.

What the Sarvodaya Extension Centres and Development Educational Institutes do is only to serve as meeting places and resource centres from where knowledge and experience could be pooled together, shared and again brought down to the village level, in proportion to the rate at which the village can absorb this knowledge and experience. Even benefits of international research can come down to the village by this type of arrangement where the artificialities between technological levels and distances between social groups are reduced to a minimum.

The Sarvodaya Movement has already evolved several techniques such as what is known as a 'family gathering', where people of all ages and all levels meet together as members of one human family. This type of family gatherings take place from village level to national level institutions. Similarly the songs, drama, pleasant language used in addressing one another as brothers and sisters, elders and children, in other words, being addressed in the same way as when they are with their own families help to close the gap that exists between the various social groups. All these combined together, bring about what we call a psychological infrastructure, in the village which is most essential to start a self-development process. Organization of the community into groups according to their ages and interests is another contribution of the Sarvodaya Movement to the development strategy of rural communities. These groups are pre-school children, school going children, out of school youth, farmers, mothers, craftsmen and others. For each of these groups, an ongoing programme is organized so that everybody can participate, both in contributing to the general welfare,

as well as satisfying their specific group needs.

Both psychological and social infra-structural stages are pre-economic developmental stages. The real economic development begins with a sufficient number of youths in particular getting trained in the areas where resources of the village are available and are at their disposal. This is an area where economic justice by law has to come in. In Sri Lanka, we were fortunate enough to witness the enactment of a series progressive legislation, removing economic injustices, during the last two decades, but in particular during the last seven years.

Rural credit, marketing and improved techniques in agriculture and management become meaningful, only if people use their initiative and invoke co-operative principles and practise co-operation and participation, in their real context.

The Government of Sri Lanka has undertaken the massive task of transforming the plantations economy, which, until the Land Reforms Act in 1972, was in the hands of local capitalists and foreign vested interests. The change contemplated anticipated the transfer of benefits to the general masses and country at large. Co-operative forms of management and youth settlement schemes have been started in places which were formerly 'the domains of foreign interests', for over one and a half - centuries. Rural lands which, due to reasons of being uneconomic to be run as State ventures, are absorbed into these co-operative and youth enterprises.

In a very small way, the Sarvodaya Movement has also started co-operative settlements of youths in lands obtained from the Government. These settlements, known as 'Samma Vasas' are experiments in integrating spiritual and cultural values with modern scientific methods, in collective living, production, management and consumption. From the results of these experiments, the Movement hopes to start a series of farms to help youth in self-employment programmes.

We won't say that the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has transformed all these villages totally and every process mentioned above is functioning to its highest perfection. As I mentioned before ours is only an experiment, which is taking place in a society where comparatively most foreign influences are at present reduced to a minimum, where progressive social legislation is more and more the order of the day and where democratic principles are, day by day,

tearing down all semblances of colonial influences if and when it shows its ugly face.

What I have been describing is what we generally describe as 'development from below - from the grass-root up'. This does not mean that we have to be blind to or ignore the discoveries of modern science and the availability of modern technology. The million-dollar question that the rural communities now face is 'Who benefits from these big things? Even the most sophisticated technological device will be welcome by the rural communities provided they can control it, but not be enslaved by it, - or are not de-humanized by it, or their ecological balance is not upset by it - or their cultural and spiritual lives are not debased by it. So far, the rich countries and modernized areas in poor countries have not achieved a balanced development, in spite of large scale application of capital-intensive sophisticated technology. The areas that are yet to receive the thrust of modern technology should learn from these experiences. In Sri Lanka the policy of both the people's Movements like Sarvodaya and the government is directed towards the achievement of balanced development, which we have named the 'Dhanyagara' 'Dharmadweepa' ideals; - This means a society where economic prosperity and righteousness are harmoniously combined.

MOBILIZATION OF PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY IN ASIA FOR AID IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

'Generally 'the elite' have loyalties which are divided between different benefactors from different parts of the world. They have created three worlds. They call them the First World, the Second World and the Third World. The rural masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are said to be in this Third World. As a matter of inevitable circumstance our 'elite' are seen as the representatives of masses of the Third World, for it is they who think for them, speak for them, receive loans and aid for them, implement development projects and welfare programmes for them, report successes and sometimes failures on their behalf, pay back the loans for them and finally assure them of the better times to come'.

I come from a village in Sir Lanka. Most of my time I spend with my brothers and sisters in rural Sri Lanka. My ideas and attitudes as well as my portion of voluntary rural work are thoroughly conditioned by these 'outsiders' in spite of the dominant 'modernizers' who inhabit our country. At the risk of being called names such as 'reactionary' 'idealist', or even 'communist' I believe that I should speak my people's language in this paper I am asked to submit. Those people are outsiders in the eyes of the decision-making establishment though minus them there can be no nation. And what they speak is common sense though in very 'blunt' language.

Asia lived and lives in the villages. But today she is tutored by the city. For many years to come Asia will remain rural. In the past the city was but a refined version of rural values, prosperity and aspirations. Today it is the reverse. The Asian city, whose values reflect more the remains of a colonial past and which displays the condition of an imported confused industrial mass consumption civilization, dominates the rural communities.

In the past Rural Asia was nurtured by the living examples of saints and respected elders. There was a harmonious integration of objectives and methods pertaining to the organization of man, and

matter, the final common goal of which exercise was to ensure the joy of living for all. Even powerful war-lords at that time bowed down to the values set by those standard-bearers of the Asian culture.

The colonizers came and super-imposed their 'superior' values, their refined methods and techniques, and their sophisticated institutions on our people. Most of them have removed themselves physically from Asia though carrying with them their spoils. Yet to fill the void thus created they left behind as overlords of their former colonies, a category of people elevated from among the indigenous people and 'educated' in their ways. An establishment built up over the centuries by the colonizers was left behind there by creating a sense of authority as well as an illusion of freedom. The authority of the ancient saints and elders was no more.

These modern masters call themselves the 'elite'. They are found in every walk of life in politics, in business, in diplomacy, in economic planning and implementation, in the professions and in a kind of activity called rural development too. These 'elite' bridge the communication gap between two worlds they have identified and labelled 'the developing' and 'the developed'. They work in multi-storied, air-conditioned concrete buildings situated in the busy streets of cities in preference to the quiet solitude of the rural areas. They are undoubtedly a bridge between the 'developed' and the 'undeveloped' people and their temples of planning should necessarily maintain an overall view of both.

The 'elite' though they belong to the same establishment, have specialized in their own disciplines. Sometimes they have their own rifts and quarrels as to who should bear the blame, which group of political 'elite' or which bureaucratic clique or which economic enterprise is to be held responsible. These quarrels are short lived and are soon made up. The establishment or the partnership must not perish. Meanwhile the common rural masses kept at a safe distance as they are, live in the hope of a better tomorrow and even brighter future.

These 'elite' who constitute a negligible fraction of the masses of Asia, know exactly what those outside the establishment need and aspire to. So they plan for them, and at most times act on their behalf particularly at national and international levels. Rural people in their helplessness or disorganization and confusion, and amidst the busy

day to day struggle to eke out an existence at semi-starvation level place trust in those 'elite' and their plans, even though they may not understand how these plans were really formed.

They champion the cause of the 'rural poor' and even that of their more enterprising and desperate brethren of their kith and kin who have migrated to the city slums. Through a terminology and logic understandable only to such 'enlightened' persons they often persuade governments, institutions and persons of the 'developed world' to come to the aid of their poor people. The local 'elite' have mastered the economic and political jargon which help successful negotiation of these master aid programmes. Out of gratitude they are even ready to make the political and economic concessions to the 'developed world'. The rule is that the lines of communication between these 'elite' of so-called developing countries and their counterparts in the developed nations must be very clear and in good working order whilst no concern is felt for the vast disparities that exist between the 'elite' and the rural masses for whom they are supposed to act. Among the 'elite' occurs from time to time the odd-man-out, the non-conformist, who in course of time gets excommunicated from the established order if he becomes too much of a nuisance to the order.

The effective partnership between the 'elite-receiver' and 'developed-giver' very often results in 'model projects' and even 'model nations' amidst though they be in appalling poverty and chaotic political crisis as in Asia. We are told that these 'models' are the ones to pursue and that they are the justifications of the 'correct' approach by any joint endeavour of the partnership for and on behalf of the 'starving millions of Asia'. After all it is the 'elite' who sets the values and standards for these models. The common ignorant people have only to notice and admire the new elite-saint and reaffirm their faith in them. Of course some of the more enterprising and capable among the common people are provided with incentives to aspire to be 'developed' in the same manner as this elite.

Some of the rural people are 'stupid'. They question the very goals, the objectives, the plans as well as the techniques of the development exercise advocated by the 'elite'. They with feet grounded as they are in the traditional past, they refuse to take off the sake of a future in the name of which the 'elite' ask for their co-operation to create. They are said to fall far short of the expected

norms of hard work, obedience, orderliness and discipline. They have begun to question the managerial competence of those who direct the system. They even doubt the very integrity of most of them and question the knowledge they profess to have of the rural problems.

Its their superstition and ignorance that makes rural people question the 'elite' - the managers of political, educational, commercial, military, administrative, technocratic and planning institutions at different levels. After all, the 'elite' say it is they who gave purpose and stability to these nations even though they had no magical formula to solve all problems of the 'developing world, in a matter of months. The 'elite' also ask questions: 'Wouldn't there be complete chaos and disorder if we the 'decision-making' elite are stripped of our power and the masses were allowed to evolve their own common goals, objectives and the means to realize them? On the other hand shouldn't the masses though not of themselves but at best through their sons, and daughters 1% of whom can be assured of a university education, make a serious attempt to understand the problems of modern economic planning and growth which necessarily are couched in the unintelligible language of the expert'?

The 'elite' assert that the 'developed world', say for example Western Europe, had to work hard for many centuries before they could get the present day per capita income of US$ 1250. Why can't the younger generation wait, say in some countries, for another forty-five years at least to reach this level? They have only to work hard and patiently to increase the present annual growth rate of 2.1 to 5 as the 'elite' advise them. In the time clock of centuries isn't 45 years a negligibly short period?

'But the 'youth' are more stupid than their elders. The stupidity of the elders is tolerable but the 'little educated, inexperienced, turbulent youth, are a threat to our whole elite establishment, nay, to the whole civilized world. They have been made literate at the public expense and we the elite were responsible for making this investment. Yet the youths are in ungrateful revolt. The frustration brought about by mass unemployment and under-employment is another matter which of course was mainly the result of the foreign exchange crisis'. Why can't the youth wait?

Well, youths say 'All right, we will wait, You wait too, and your kith and kin as well'. Naturally the 'elite' are not prepared to do all

this-They don't believe that any good can come out of disturbing their march of 'progress' by waiting.

These 'misled immature youths' sometimes take to violence too. They are trying to harm themselves and others. They have to be checked for their own good and the good of society. Coercive force which protected the colonial rulers from the conquered people has now to be brought in to protect the 'elite' from the onslaught of the youth. Of course this has to be done in the name of the good social order. Otherwise the people will identify the 'elite' as similar in character to their departed colonial masters. On the other hand how can they bring about the development when there is disorderliness and violence?

At normal times the 'elite' too quarrel among themselves. But their language is unintelligible to the people. Reality for people lies in the action and in the integrity of the people who act. Generally 'the elite have loyalties which are divided between different benefactors from different parts of the world. They have created three world. They call them the First World, the Second World and the Third World. The rural masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are said to be in this Third World. As a matter of inevitable circumstances our 'elite' are seen as the representatives of masses of the Third World, for it is they who think for them, speak for them, receive loans and aid for them, implement development projects and welfare programmes for them, report successes and sometimes failures on their behalf, pay back the loans for them and finally assure them of the better times to come.

Sometimes that group of 'elite' called party-politicians take their quarrels to the rural areas. People are asked to pass judgement on the issues over which they quarrel by making a cross in a ballot paper during the elections. This happens once in four or five years. Depending on who wins the day a few people in the village receive their rewards. Others get back to a slow process of repairing the damage caused to the human and developmental relationships in the village by the 'elections'. That group of 'elite' who run the administration perpetually control the system of administration except that some, who lean too far towards the 'wrong' faction of political 'elite' change places with others more acceptable to the political 'elite' who happen to be in power, at the time.

And rural life goes on. Sometimes these 'elite' who have proved

their 'efficiency' in the strategic points in the establishment are promoted to international development institutions. Sometimes they descend upon the rural scene to inspire the still backward village people. And still life goes on, but some people, as I mentioned before, question the very 'elite' way of approach to progress and development. They demand a total change in his approach where they too can play a decisive role in a matter which primarily concerns their life and death. They want to participate as equals in the management of their affairs and in development. They may not be totally right but they cannot be totally wrong either. In any case these rural people for whom the establishment is said to be acting are numerically very strong. It may be worth giving them a chance to prove themselves qualitatively as the establishment may not be wholly right either. I don't like to call these 'elite' the privileged and I know how difficult it is for them in any case to give away the 'decision-making role' they played on behalf of the poor ignorant masses for such a long time. I also know that most of them are fighting within themselves a big battle as between the demands of the time and their conscience, on the one hand and their traditional pride and hypocrisy on the other hand.

I often ask the rural people direct what happens outside. They appear to know more than the 'elite' think they are capable of knowing. They know how man exploits man. They know how man kills man and ruins nature herself. They know how man deceives man and tries to deceive nature too. They know how man intoxicates man for mutual destruction. The rural mother is horrified to see 'developed' nations turn brutes, are filled with untruth, violence, and selfishness. She knows the simple truth that it is useless developing the world if there is no development of the human in man.

The development she sees being practised today is a headlong thrust into an abyss of total and general destruction. The philosophy of the rural people cannot be ignored in the name of an impersonal science and technology. On the contrary, in the very unsophisticated simplified thinking of the rural people may lie the very path to the much needed integration of the 'elite' with the real life of the people, not as their masters but as an integral part of their culture. A rural mother's feeling for man loving man, man sharing with man, man ennobling man, man sacrificing for man and man enlightening man is the base from which we have to start. We may have to turn a full

circle. But it has to be done. People refuse to be subject to a so called modern elusive establishment over which the human being however much of an 'elite' he may be has no control. This self-realization combined with self-determination and self-respect. I believe has to be the foundation on which Asian rural development programmes have to be built. My paper is only a humble attempt to examine this possibility based mainly on my own experience in rural work.

Having stressed my stand-point for a total shift in regard to development, policy-making and programme-implementation from the 'elite' to the people, from a city based culture to the rural society, I would like to conclude this chapter with a brief outline of the rest of this paper. The need for a unified approach to development is emphasized in the Second Chapter. The Third Chapter is devoted to a re-definition of the concept of rural development in keeping with this unified approach. In the Fourth Chapter the concept and practice of philanthropy is examined. The Fifth Chapter gives an account of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Ceylon which is implemented on the said basis. Some conclusions follow in the Sixth Chapter.

A Unified Approach to Development

The First United Nations Development Decade has just ended. The Second United Nations Development Decade has almost begun. In spite of extensive development efforts made during the first decade and the isolated success stories of projects carried out during this period, we in Asia have to accept the truth that the average developing nation in Asia is in a relatively weaker position today than she was ten years ago vis-a-vis her industrialized counterparts in the 'First World' and the 'Second World'. This is true for the African an Latin American nations also.

The International Development strategy for the Second Development Decade which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 24th October 1970 appears to have taken cognizance of this situation. This document, though it leaves certain things to be disired, in my belief, makes a definitive break-through into a more realistic view of the problems of the third world. I shall draw from this document certain parts which are directly connected with the theme I am developing.

For example, the preamble to the DD2 International Development Strategy states: 'However, the level of living of

countless millions of people in the developing parts of the world is still pitifully low. Those people are often still undernourished, uneducated, unemployed and wanting in many other amenities of life. While a part of the world lives in great comfort and even affluence, much of the larger part suffers from abject poverty and in fact the disparity is continuing to widen. This lamentable situation has contributed to aggravate world tension'.

The current frustrations and disappointments must not be allowed to cloud the vision or stand in the way of the development objectives. Youth everywhere is in ferment, and the 1970's must mark a step forward in securing the well-being and happiness not only of the present generations but also of the generations to come.

'The success of International Development will depend in a large measure on improvement of the general international situation, particularly on concrete progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control, on the elimination of colonialism, racial discrimination, apartheid and occupation of territories of any state and on the promotion of equal political, economic, social and cultural rights for all members of society. Progress towards general and complete disarmament should release substantial additional resources which could be utilized for the purpose of economic and social development particularly of developing countries. There should, therefore, be a close link between the second United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade. (5)'

The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purpose. (7)

'International co-operation for development must be on a scale commensurate with that of the problem itself. *Partial sporadic and half-hearted gestures,* howsoever well-intentioned, will not suffice, (9)' (The italics are mine).

In the Chapter on Goals and Objectives the DD2 document further states; 'As the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life it is essential to bring about a more equitable distribution of income and wealth for

promoting both social justice and efficiency of production, to raise substantially the level of employment, to achieve a greater degree of income security, to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social welfare, and to safeguard the environment. Thus qualitative and structural change in the society must go hand in hand with rapid economic growth, and existing disparties-regional, sectoral and social-should be substantially reduced. These objectives are both determining factors and end results of development, they should therefore be viewed as integrated parts of the same dynamic process and would require a unified approach:

a. Each developing country should formulate its national employment objective so as to absorb an increasing proportion of its working population in modern type activities and reduce significantly unemployment and under-employment;

b. Particular attention should be paid to achieving enrolement of all children of primary school age, improvement of the quality of education at all levels, a substantial reduction in illiteracy, the re-orientation of educational programmes to serve development needs, and, as appropriate, the establishment and expansion of scientific and technological institutions;

c. Each developing country should formulate a coherent health programme for the prevention and treatment of diseases and for raising general levels of health and sanitation;

d. Levels of nutrition should be improved in terms of the average caloric intake and the protein content, with special emphasis being placed on the needs of the vulnerable groups of the population;

e. Housing facilities should be expanded and improved especially for the lower income groups and with a view to remedying the ills of unplanned urban growth and lagging rural areas;

f. The well-being of the children should be fostered;

g. The full participation of the youth in the development process should be ensured.

h. The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged.

I purposefully quoted at length from the DD2 document so that as I develop my theme, 'Mobilization of private Philanthropy in Asia for Aid in Rural Development', I shall not deviate very much from the 'collective will' of the United Nations as expressed by them in the General Assembly. Secondly my experience in rural development work has convinced me beyond reasonable doubt of the importance of a unified approach to rural national and international problems if we are to achieve any measure of real success in our work. And this document contains the UN objectives and goals closest to such a unified approach to problems of development.

In the context of this unified approach to development a redefinition of the concept as well as the objectives and methods of rural development becomes necessary. The motivation for and the practice of philanthropy too have to be re-appraised and integrated into this new total situation.

A re-Definition of the Concept of Rural Development

I know in my opening remarks of this paper I was very hard on the 'elite' for blindly following on the foot-steps of the industrialized world in particularly all matters from ideologies to methods, from techniques to organization of our political, economic and social life. To be fair to at least a minority of persons in this class I must say that they are becoming aware of self-interested role that most of the 'developed' countries have played in their relationships with the poorer countries. They know that wittingly or unwittingly the so-called developed world have kept us 'undeveloping' as stated in the UN document I quoted in the last chapter.

In the same manner and as a result of much worse silent suffering for decades and disillusionment from every political regime and administrative hierarchy, the rural masses in Asian countries are becoming aware of the hollowness of this superficial and discriminatory system. The rural masses have realized that they have been working for an oppressive urban-centered system. They need only a voice from for among them or from a source identified with them to express this realisation in words and in deeds.

What is development? Isn't it self realization, an awakening of awareness, a sort of an unfolding of the individual and the group to

the realities of their relationship with the natural or social environment around them? If the 'elite' have become aware of their failures in the past as agents of change in rural Asia as a result of an over-dependence on an unreliable or unsound source, and if the 'rural people' have learned from experience that the only hope lies within their own culture, and in their own ideas, organization and self-determind effort, then there now exists a golden opportunity to begin true development.

As evidenced in may countries of the exploited world 'the rural giant' is showing signs of awakening from his long and hard slumber. Unbelievers who refuse to accept this reality are certain of inevitable disillusionment - for whatever happens the giant is going to awaken. What the people, concerned should do is not to try to subdue this force but to create the necessary conditions to facilitate it to burst into full and vigorous life so as to completely restructure our concept on democracy, socialism, freedom and the like.

It may sound highly idealistic to take the foregoing argument to its logical conclusion to state that in the poorer countries the concept of rural development should supersede that of national development. In a physical and psychological environment where human personality is kept in servitude, human creativity has difficulty in blossoming. In a village subservient to an urban political or administrative bureaucracy, rural awakening will certainly not take place. Social creativity will be at its lowest in a disintegrated and dependent national situation. We in the still poor rural world, therefore, must start with the concept of the individual who is possessed of an awakening personality, an autonomous village unit, an independent nation-state before we think of adjusting ourselves be it as individuals, villages or nations to the world political and economic system. If the former could be achieved, the adjustment to the world situation is only a matter of time as demonstrated by several poorer nations such as China, in their approach to development.

This reversed order of things will certainly bring dismay to the traditional planner and bureaucrat. bureaucrat. is true that it is hard to imagine how we could give life and blood to a human being who for a very long time has been a mere digit in matters of planning where man hours, growth rates per capita incomes and so on form the basis of all calculations.

But where is the end to all this? What is the final production of this exercise even if the plans succeed? Is it not going to result in creating an alienated and consumer-maniac society where the individual has totally got lost, as has happened in most industrialized societies? Talking their own language, how far does the objective of development, as defined in terms of economic growth and in the stepping up of the rate of growth of gross domestic product, have validity when in practice high growth rates have not reduced unemployment, income inequalities, mass poverty, illiteracy, bad housing or poor nutrition?

In the name of a science and a technology that never reach the vast masses of our people and in the name of modernisation, our traditional societies have been deliberately disturbed and even destroyed by a so called impersonal scientific attitude and practice. Propaganda and advertisement of cheap consumer articles the developed world wants to be rid of, free food to subsidize a developed world nations's market, sophisticated labour saving machinery, alien habits and customs, all this and much more have duped our people far too long. The tragedy of the whole process is that the subjects or agents of development have never carried out research to find out the comparative real income growth that as managers of our societies, they have achieved during the last few decades or to find out at whose cost this was achieved.

Strangely enough this development has yielded similar results in the rich world and the poor world. In both worlds the youth are in revolution. The general mass of the populations in the richer countries are uncertain of their future. An eternal nuclear cloud is hanging over their heads. New problems of ecological imbalance and environmental pollution are threatening to cause wholesale destruction. A vast complex of computerized establishments has completely overshadowed the tiny creator of all this. The industrialization stage is no more in the rich world. It has the state of a post-industrial mass-consumption culture, while we in rural Asia are still trying to find out our bearings are trying to find which way to go. But the way is not so obscure. Let us begin from where we are, with what we have. We, the exploited, may yet have the clue to save ourselves from our exploiters, if only we are bold enough to start right now.

Rural development can no more be a 'partial' sporadic and half-

hearted gesture. It has to be a total, all-embracing, continuous and vigorous national activity, 'commensurate with the magnitude of the problem itself'. Rural development can no more remain as an isolated effort carried out in 'backward' rural communities for humanitarian reasons and as a supplementary programme to massive national development efforts. And what are these massive national development programmes and how successful have these been as evaluated by the standards of the planners themselves? In my own country an innumerable number of examples could be cited to show how these projects not merely fell far short of expectations but actually resulted in impoverishment of a whole nation. In the words of the planners themselves who evaluated our first multi-purpose Gal-Oya project a hydro-electric cum irrigation scheme of the fifties in 1969 .... 'even if capital were available to the economy absolutely free the project would not have been paying .... the benefit cost ratio is 0.5 and the discounted costs exceed the discounted benefits by Rs.277,313,510'. A similar multi-purpose project, the Uda Walave Scheme is said to have cost Rs. 304 millions so far with not dissimilar problems already encountered while not even 6,000 acres have been brought under cultivation. Five sugar factories were planned in the fifties but fortunately only two were completed with an investment of Rs. 87 million and in fact even these run at less than 20% of their capacity. Had these monies been invested in a village centred massive rural development effort with unsophisticated tools and with people's effort and participation perhaps we wouldn't have the economic and social difficulties we are facing today.

I personally think that a country in Asia is not going to lose very much were it to totally decentralize its power structure. On the contrary both the power wielders at the centre and the powerless at the bottom are bound to benefit from such a reversal of authority. The village communities at the bottom should be given all the economic and political power within their communities. In other words Village Self Government should be the central thought in rural development. As Mahathma Gandhi proposed for India so each nation should be a 'Commonwealth of Village Republics'. Some will immediately react with words of wisdom or derision such as 'viable economic and political units' going back to the history etc. Let these viable units begin from below. Let this application of science and technology be started from where the people are at a level of their competence and with what they already know. Let them have a

bullock cart to begin with while at the same time they planned for a jet transportation. Let them have simple hand operated pumps and kerosene lamps while planning for giant hydro-electric plants, which most probably even now carry electricity over the heads of rural areas to the towns first. Allow the so called 'viable units' to grow and evolve from the bottom. Let the power remain with the people and only the residue of power find its way from their level to the divisional, provincial, national and international levels. Let the process evolve its own rationale. This is the full circle that the concept of Rural Development has to turn if social, economic and political justice for the people is our true and supreme goal. An approach based on this concept is the only safeguard against under-development, exploitation, violence, and general de-humanisation.

Private Philanthropy

Philanthropy is love of mankind especially as shown in services to her general welfare. Recognition of man as an equal and not as an exploited miserable being motivates one for this type of service. Individuals and groups taking to philanthropic work are fulfilling a basic psychological human need in the sense of expressing their solidarity with the rest of their human family.

Mutual love between human beings and service to one another are necessary for any healthy society. It is a fundamental requirement of the human being to have this concern for his fellow-men. Some individuals and groups, many commit themselves more to the practice of this kind of service than others. But every one by his very birth-right should be a giver as much as he himself is a receiver.

Love of mankind is different from sectarian feeling for one's own close group or class. Certainly philanthropy should and has necessarily to begin with one's own immediate group, the family, the village, the ethnic or racial group, etc., but if it ends up with such sectarian service then it ceases to be philanthropy in my opinion for it can lead to new tension and even conflict between groups. The concept and practice of philanthropy should transcend all barriers that divide man from man and aim at the general welfare of the entire human family.

Philanthropy is not merely a matter of hand-outs. Indiscriminate hand-outs breed beggars. Philanthropy should not be reduced to a virtue which could only be practised by the haves towards the have-

nots. Such a paternalistic attitude will necessarily mean the perpetuation of a system where two classes have to exist for man's love and service towards man to manifest itself. On the other hand philanthropy should be a human quality which every person irrespective of his wealth or education is able to practise. It should be a part and parcel of the human life itself.

When philanthropy is defined as a practice common to all human beings, then it becomes synonymous with the concept and practice of sharing one's time, thought, energy, skill, wealth, land etc., for the common welfare of all. The degree to which a person can practise sharing may vary from person to person. But every person can certainly practise it in some area of activity. And this co-sharing as I may call it leads to co-operation between human beings. There can never be true co-operation without co-sharing.

The concepts of philanthropy when expressed in this manner, becomes an integrated part of the process of social change which we call development too. It ceases to be an individual, isolated one way, 'do-gooding' act, but, becomes a dynamic force for social change. Depending on the culture within which we work we should be able to relate to this concept the traditions, customs, beliefs, religion songs, dances and ceremonies of that culture and also to design concrete programmes of social, political and economic action working towards the common goals we have placed before us. Thus religion, culture and all that which we have inherited from the past become the supplementary force rather than some imagine an obstacle to social progress.

Philanthropy should not be allowed to degenerate into an act of making one group of people dependent on another. It may stifle the growth of the receiving group instead of helping it. When it is an act of sharing it benefits both. Those who can share more should not do harm to themselves and others by acting as paternalistic saviours. Nobody can save another unless that other person is prepared to save himself. Particularly those who possess economic power should act in a spirit of sharing with those who do not have such power and help the latter to liberate themselves from the bondage they are in. In the world context I very often think that what is necessary is not 'development aid' or 'development co-operation' but Liberation-Co-operation (which I may call in shortened form LIBCO). Because as much as the poorer people have to be liberated from under-

development, the rich countries and people have also to be liberated from their consumption-oriented life of greed, hatred, and ignorance. Therefore what is necessary is a spirit of 'liberation-co-operation'.

If the practice of philanthropy does not lead to greater social, economic and political equality among the rich and the poor, be it people or nations, such action will not help the process of development. Most rural areas are not developing because the necessary psychological and political incentives are denied them through concentration of power in the cities, landlessness, indebtedness, exploitation of labour, lack of fair prices for their agricultural produce, etc. Whether philanthropy is practised by the rural people themselves, or by those from outside such as various 'philanthropic' groups, I wouldn't encourage them to give mere hand-outs unless their action will conform to the broader objectives of social justice and self determination.

There are various national and international groups engaged in humanitarian work which certainly help alleviate the sufferings of various groups of people in certain situations. We commend them. But if they are to be development oriented they must share the objective of fundamental structural changes that are urgently required to build up a more just society. And more particularly, philanthropic groups in either countries should work harder in their own countries to achieve total and general disarmament which would save sufficient monies and resources to help develop the poor nations. They should enlighten the policy makers and the establishments in their countries as to the adverse trade terms we in the 'developing' world are subject to in our dealings with the richer countries. This type of aid to us will help us much more than the traditional 'charitable' practices.

As mentioned earlier, philanthropy is motivated by love of mankind, it cannot have barriers. But some 'philanthropic groups' are motivated by political considerations and interfere with the internal structural changes that are taking place in a community or a country with which they have established aid relationships. I would not call this true philanthropy and would not encourage it. Each community and nation should have its right to self-determination. Very often the paternal relationships that 'philanthropic groups' have established with 'ruling groups' who do not believe in changing the existing pattern of the social structure become inimical to real

development.

Philanthropy can be made to be a very dynamic force of social change in any situation if the particular group in that situation has good leadership which can whip up the necessary 'political' will. In the next chapter I will explain briefly how our Movement, the Sarvodaya Shramadana, does it in rural Ceylon. The same could be practised in a sophisticated setting, say, a private company, if truly they have the will to do it. As much as capital is a necessary ingredient for production of a certain commodity or service there are other factors that have to be combined with it. But only those who invested capital claim ownership of the actual establishment and profit. If the owners of capital, consider themselves as trustees of the profits they have made jointly then sharing that profit with those who helped to make the profit become an act of true philanthropy. In a situation of this nature the relationship between the employer and the employees changes into one of harmonious partnership as both are shareholders of a common enterprise. Collectively they become trustee of a social property. This concept of trusteeship has a lot of potentialities which could be harnessed for social progress. If the employers' federations and labour unions give this thought serious and genuine consideration not only could an increase in productivity of the particular concern with better relationship between the different owners of factors of production be brought about, but they can also jointly help in suitable social programmes. This may open up more efficient ways of reducing income disparities and effecting economic justice without hatred and violence. Of course a progressive State can provide the necessary legislation to enforce the process by heavy penalties, including the changes of the trustees if they violate the basic principles of trusteeship as accepted in a particular social structure.

Land reforms are a very essential prerequisite for changing rural society. Acharya Vinoba Bhave of India through his Bhoodan (Land Gift) and Gramdan (Common Ownership of All Village Land) Movements proved how the concept of philanthropy could be successfully practised in the sector of land reform. Had this movement been followed up with the necessary political and economic measures by the State administration a non-violent change to a socialist form of land ownership could have been achieved in India. He basically showed how the people's inherent strength could

be awakened for total change in the social and economic field. The political administrative authorities should have given this great attempt the necessary legal base by bringing about structural changes which people asked for consequent to their philanthropic gesture.

In Sri Lanka (Ceylon) hundreds and thousands of men, women, young people and children from all strata of society have responded to the call of the Sarvodaya Movement and volunteered their labour and services in rural reconstruction work. Even skilled people such as doctors and nurses, engineers and technicians, teachers and professors have performed physical labour and skilled work in Sarvodaya projects, all of their own free-will without monetary or other rewards or returns. Thus in the field of philanthropy there is an unlimited potentiality in all spheres such as capital, labour, skill and knowledge, for people to share these with one another for common good. It is a practice in which everybody can and should join, with the difference that quality and quantity of that which is shared may vary from person to person group to group.

Then there are giant corporations in the rich countries. They too sometimes practise 'Philanthropy'. Most people, including myself, in developing countries have serious doubts about their motivations for practising 'philanthropy'. I appreciate the humanitarian work done for some very worthy causes by some of these giant corporations. Yet I must confess my disappointment and dismay at the extent to which they have followed their profit motives so much so as to enslave our entire economies by using (or abusing) the technological entrepreneurial and organisational lead they have over poorer countries. If only they had the courage to radically change their attitudes and return to the developing economies a substantial part of the profits they have taken away from them I think that will be the highest form of philanthropy. And philanthropy is defined as 'Love of Mankind especially as shown in services to general welfare'. They must realize that the oppressed of this world have awakened and are awakening and nothing will hold them from winning back their legitimate and moral rights. But in spite of their underdevelopment they are a very charitable people in forgiving and forgetting if the oppressors make a genuine effort to reverse this order of things found in the world today. Together in a genuine brotherhood-achieved as I mentioned earlier by co-operation with co-sharing we can still build a new world.

It is extremely gratifying to note that many wealthy countries have formed themselves into philanthropic bodies to assist the poorer countries. I have come across large numbers of young people in Europe who have organized themselves into action groups to help their poorer brothren. They even volunteered to come and serve these people under conditions which to them would be very trying indeed. But even countries which have reached the zenith of material progress have their own problems. The spiritual deterioration that has taken place in these consumer oriented societies may be the cause of the numerically greater number of the mentally diseased. Perhaps we in the 'developing world' can help these countries too.

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sir Lanka is a non-governmental voluntary organization and was founded in 1958. Today it is the largest non-governmental grass-roots movement in the country. It is trying to help people in 400 villages of Sri Lanka to build for themselves a new way of life based on the ideas expressed in the preceding chapters of this paper. The target for 1975 is 1,000 villages.

The Movement was started with the specific objective of involving the rural masses and the young people jointly in constructive and voluntary effort to achieve the following:

a. Develop the personality of youth in keeping with our culture and yet taking cognizance of the rapid changes taking place around us;

b. Awaken the rural communities to the realities of social change and help them to become agents of such change in keeping with their own culture and interests;

c. Achieve national integration by giving opportunities to all irrespective of caste, race, religion or language to contribute their share in the common effort of nation building based on the principles of the Movement, namely, Truth, Non-violence and Self-denial with the objective of realizing fundamental human rights and social justice; and

d. Bring about collaboration between people and communities with identity of ideas and progressive programmes in other countries of the world for world peace, human-brotherhood,

and 'Liberation-Co-operation' between basic groups.

Sarvodaya signifies a thought and 'Shramadana' the implementation of that thought. 'Sarva' meaning All and 'Udaya' meaning Awakening are two Sanskrit words which are also current in the Sinhala Language. (Shrama, literally means energy of labour and 'dana means sharing'. Therefore Sarvodaya Shramadana means sharing of one's time, thought and energy for awakening of all.)

The Sarvodaya concept of 'the awakening of all' was Mahathma Gandhi's answer to the Western political concept of achieving 'greater good of the greater number'. Acharya Vinoba Bhave with his world famous Bhoodan-Gramdan Movement which he started in 1951 propagated this thought. We in Sri Lanka were inspired by both these men when we started our Movement. The Sri Lanka management has given its own indigenous character to the Sarvodaya thought and Shramadana action.

Sarvodaya ideology, as understood and interpreted by us has both a spiritual and material significance relevant to the individual, the family and the community, be it village or urban, national or world. It was mentioned that 'Udaya' means 'awakening'. It also means 'Liberation'. The individual should have clear integrated ideas as what he has to liberate from, why he must do this and how he is to liberate himself; he must also have clear ideas about the concepts of community, nation and world. Unless one's ideological conditioning is non-fragmentary and integrated harmoniously one's own welfare with the welfare of others, one cannot go very far as an agent to effective social change.

Sarvodaya points to a two-fold liberation objective one should strive for. Firstly, within one's own mind or thinking process there are certain defilements one has to recognise and must strive to cleanse the mind of these. Secondly, one has to realize that there are unjust and immoral socio-economic chains which keep the vast majority of people enslaved; having recognized these, one has to realize that these chains have to be removed if the human being is to enjoy true freedom and fundamental human rights. Thus the individual's mental make up, and the social environment in which he lives are both undergoing revolution and this aspect is kept foremost in the mode of thought and behaviour of our members of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

Those persons who have as their supreme goal the realization of their personality development to the fullest can in the long run show to others the way or the path to liberation from the many spiritual or moral lapses and socio-economic ills of humanity today. This means for the individual an educational goal far more scientific than the present formal job/career oriented impartation of knowledge. The individual should be a dynamic entity constantly striving to overcome his inner passions of greed, anger and ignorance. This compels us to look upon the individuals personality in its totality consisting as it does of an integrated combination of a dynamic mind, heart and body operating in a total socio-economic complex.

During the period of industrialization in Europe and the subsequent commercial expansion towards the East, production of wealth was a material and mechanical process where spiritual and humanistic considerations were totally absent or ignored. The whole economic philosophy that interested Western capitalism was to look for the most effective combination of the factors of production-namely, land-labour-capital and organization in order to bring about maximum profit. We cannot in our countries, work on this theory. In our society the human being himself is the most important entity although we cannot pretend to be unconcerned with the need to increase our economic productivity so as to give the individual a higher standard of living. The dilemma we are faced with here and now is how we may harmonize modern economic theory with the age-old wealth of spiritual values we have inherited.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement over the last thirteen years has evolved a three-fold approach to this problem. Firstly an educational re-awakening process is implemented through Shramadana. Secondly, a grass-roots development process is initiated through the 'Gramodaya' or the Sarvodaya Village Re-awakening Programme. Thirdly, a non-violent social revolutionary process is generated through people's participation in the decision making process at all levels. This unified approach of education, development and participation for social change is the foundation on which, we believe, a new social order in rural Sri Lanka should be built. Let me very briefly explain each of these.

Shramadana as I explained above literally means the sharing of one's labour and services with the community. Shramadana camps are the places where the young and old, the educated and the

illiterate, the privileged and the forgotten all meet and serve one another as equals. The Shramadana volunteers encamp in a rural area close to the location of a physical community project (planned well ahead of the camp). They harmonize the traditional culture of the rural community and live and work with the community for a period of time which may vary from a weekend to one week or a month. From the planning stage to implementation, from evaluation to the follow-up of projects it is the village community that is carrying out the task of decision-making. Those who volunteer from outside to work in the Shramadana Camps do not super-impose their will on the people nor adopt a patronizing attitude towards them. They accept the rural culture which is based on four principles of personality development for the individual and four principles of group behaviour for a healthy society.

What are the four principles of personality development that form the foundation of our rural culture? They are Metta, Karuna, Muditha, and Upekkha which respectively mean (1) loving kindness towards all or respect of life, (2) compassionate action or helping people to overcome their suffering, (3) altruistic joy or experiencing happiness when fellow beings are made happy and (4) learning to maintain mental balance or equanimity at times of loss as well as gain, fame or blame. A shramadana camp is a place where both the physical and psychological requirements are fulfilled for every individual to imbibe these qualities in them.

Then there are the four salient principles for healthy group living within the rural culture. They are *dana, priya vachana artha-charya, and samanathmatha* which respectively mean sharing, pleasant speech, constructive activity and equality. In a Shramadana Camp each according to his capacity shares his labour and skills with others. People address one another in pleasant language generally used among members of the same family. They are all participants in useful constructive activity such as developing a water resource to irrigate the village field, providing access roads to the village, putting up a school building or community hall, carrying our a medical or health programme, and such other activities which help the village community. In the camp all share the same food, the same facilities for lodging, the same conveniences without any considerations of caste, class, race or political commitments. The Shramadana camp with its songs and dance, work and study, truly becomes the ideal

human family in microcosm where self-fulfilment and joy of living become a reality.

The Shramadana is not only directed towards the achievement of physical objectives that satisfied a felt need of community. It is also an educational experience for young and old alike in a very broad sense. Among the manifold benefits that are derived from Shramadana Camps three major ones are listed below:

1. Provision of a first hand opportunity for rural urban groups to meet in a beneficial manner thus bringing about mutual understanding and trust towards the achievement of common goals;
2. After generations of inaction and dependence the rural communities awaken themselves to a new life of self-reliance and self-help to better their conditions; and
3. The emergence of a new rural leadership, a new dynamic development-oriented unity in place of the old divisions which were based on caste, religion and political commitments.

A series of shramadana camps in a village leads to the second stage, which we call Village Re-awakening. Under the guidance of trained Sarvodaya youth workers a thorough family socio-economic survey is conducted. A general survey of the structural aspect of the community is also done. Based on this data and findings a short term programme is based on these improvements that can be brought about in the areas of education, health, agriculture and cottage crafts, and community organizations competent with their efforts and resources. In other words development begins from where they are and with what they have. What Sarvodaya, has, as for example voluntary labour, know-how and some capital resources, are also theirs, for now they are a part of the national Movement. In all these areas of operation the advice, technical know-how and sometimes the apportioned funds of the government, local authorities as well as private philanthropy are also solicited. Depending on those who control these resources and their attitudes towards the Movement, their response could be positive or negative. But the projects go on with what the people have and with whatever knowledge and skills they possess.

While an integrated community awakening programme as outlined above is in operation the development and mobilization of

the village human resources are also taking place alongside. A Sarvodaya Children's group (age 6-15), a Sarvodaya Youth Group, (16^{+}), a Sarvodaya Mothers' Group, a Sarvodaya Farmers' Group and a Sarvodaya General Elders Group are also progressively organized. The cultural values and relationships pertaining to each group are renewed and reoriented to meet the challenges of the present. Programmes of work and activities relevant to the areas of interest of each group are promoted with the full participation of the members. To co-ordinate the activities of different groups and those of the village as a whole a Village Re-awakening Council consisting of representatives of each of these groups is set up.

A Village Re-awakening Council may have as many subgroups as necessary for the various aspects of development, such as roads, promotion of co-operative, debt redemption and credit facilities, agriculture, village library, small industries, pre-school education, environmental health and sanitation, matters religious and spiritual etc. In other words an opportunity is provided for as many people in the village as possible, young and old, to participate constructively and collectively in their own developmental efforts.

This programme and grass-roots organization certainly needs support from outside in three main ways. First it needs capital for certain aspects of the work such as provision of tools, seeds, cement and other building materials and provision of subsistence for villagers till they get returns from their work. We have tried to satisfy this need from the resources we could channel from governmental as well as private philanthropic sources.

Second, it requires an easy availability of know-how in modern methods and techniques as applicable to the local level of development and needs. In this field a lot of research has to be done and innovations made to bring science and technology to the rural level. While these innovations improve productivity and the quality of the production care has to be taken to prevent aggravating the employment problem by indiscriminate adoption of labour saving machinery. Philanthropic organizations and groups can help our rural communities a great deal in this regard.

Third the political and economic power structures have to be re-organized to give social justice to the rural populations. They must be allowed democratic control of as many areas of government as possible pertaining to their life such as pre-school and elementary

education, maternity and child care, health and sanitation, village irrigation, and agriculture and small industries, cooperatives and housing, village access roads, and small bridges. The necessary funds and personnel should be placed under the control of village level democratic bodies. In the economic field, unjust inequitable land holdings and system of land-tenure, absentee landlordism, and such other ills must be removed and land must be placed under the direct control of the village-level government; similarly credit and savings facilities must come to the village. Of course, once the basic structure is changed, smaller villages can combine themselves into bigger units to run economically productive and organizationally efficient larger enterprises. Those which need managerial and other skills for upgrading of the economy can take their place under the control of the people as a whole within this changed system. Here the 'elite' can be accommodated as true agents of change and they will be responsible to the people themselves and not to a bureaucratic or a party-based political hierarchy.

While the Educational Re-awakening through Shramadana and the Development Initiation through Gramodaya are taking place and Short Term Development Programmes are successfully operated in the Sarvodaya Villages, we know that we proceed further without changes in the structure as enumerated above. Here lies real obstacle to rural development. Either those who wield political and economic power today have to voluntarily and intelligently give up the unjust stranglehold they have on the rural people or the latter must wrest that power from them by the use of non-violent revolutionary force. We stress non-violent revolution because violent revolution may once again enslave them under a political bureaucracy. If both voluntary surrender and non-violent revolution fail then violence and possible chaos will necessarily follow. The choice is left with those who wield economic and political power now - the 'elite'. They may well begin by giving the people the opportunity to participate in their areas of interest and thus promote non-violent revolution rather than obstruct it.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has initated this threefold programme of social change in nearly four hundred villages of Sri Lanka. Its target is 1,000 villages by 1975. The very fact that not one village community or person in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was directly or indirectly involved in the recent violent

acts that swept through the country has given fresh courage for the rural people to go ahead with their non-violent revolution. With the meagre financial resources available to us through local as well as foreign groups committed to Sarvodaya we carry out as best as we can our village schemes, conduct training centres, youth farms and maintain a full-time staff.

A village to village link-up programme has been developed over the last two years. Starting with one village in Belgium which was linked with a village in Ceylon, this programme has developed to over 50 village-to-village links. The World Assembly of Youth in Belgium helped the Movement through the UNESCO Gift Coupon Scheme to establish 100 Children's Libraries. CORSO in New Zealand is helping a Sarvodaya Youth Farm. The 11-11-11 Campaign in Belgium has helped financially to train leaders and to buy material and equipment necessary for community development. Thus the Sarvodaya effort, while it is based on people's self-help, is assisted by various philanthropic groups all over the world. While this scheme has all the elements of a social welfare or community development programme it must be repeatedly emphasized that it is directed towards a total non-violent revolution in the ideas, techniques and structural organizations or the rural communities keeping in view self-determination and progress. We have our difficulties and drawbacks but fundamentally we are satisfied with the progress the Movement has made in this unified approach.

Conclusion

The authority for planning and development, presently enjoyed by the privileged few must pass on to the people themselves. The best in each community can unfold itself only when this freedom to participate in decision-making becomes a reality to the people. The extent to which the managerial skills, the knowledge and know-how, the scientific and technological resources are required, is a matter that should be decided upon by the people themselves and not by those who hold or wield these resources now.

Youth unrest, violence and indiscipline are the creations of a system which has alienated the people from the decision making establishment. The answer to these problems lies not in the organization of more and greater coercive forces and of

centralization of power but in the genuine sharing of authority and responsibility in nation building.

Development should begin from where the people are and with what they have. No development will ever take place unless the underprivileged, the extremes of wealth and poverty or social injustices that prevail in a community are removed. Obstacles to development should be removed before talking about aid to development.

The goals and objectives in development should be an integrated whole in which the well-being of the individual, his family, his village, his nation and his world are always kept in correct perspective. This demands a unified approach to development where due recognition is given to the cultural aspiration of the people, to total disarmament, to the removal of racialism and colonialism, to non-exploitation in trade, to commerce and industry and to the participation of human beings of every age group in building up their own welfare. This demands a more human approach, an approach closer to the people than to the institutions that have enslaved them throughout the past.

Rural development is this liberating force. It is here that a restructuring of man and society should consciously begin. And manpower is the one asset that rural. Asia has. A massive mobilization of this power resource is the only alternative to dependency and tutelage which has brought about political tension and unrest. I firmly believe that this mobilization can be developed into a total all-embracing and dynamic activity for national regeneration and general re-awakening.

Philanthropy should fit into this total picture. It should begin with people themselves, however, 'underprivileged' they are, in their attitudes and action to help their fellow-men. Only in a situation of this nature can outside philanthropy help people in the poorer world to make real use of such assistance. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka is an example for such use of philanthropy without dependence, however small its area of operations may be. I reiterate that 'Liberation Co-operation' is what we need most in the world today - an operation to liberate both the rich as well as the poor, 'the developed' as well as the 'developing'.

INFLUENCING THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT TO ACCEPT SELF-EMPLOYMENT

'We have had three forms of elite. Firstly, those who accepted the party political system and got into the field of party politics; who laid down the general policy of development. Secondly, those who advised and implemented these policies - the bureaucratic staff. Thirdly, the Private Sector, which, of course, was led by the profit motive. The ordinary people in this country had to operate, had to find their way to earn a living, under these forces; and, as you know, these forces are generally backed by the State power'.

First I would like to thank the organizers of this Seminar for inviting me to think aloud on the subject of 'Influencing the social environment to accept self-employment'. When I contemplated on this subject I was wondering whether it is a question of influencing the social environment to accept self-employment that is readily available, because the question is: Is there a prospect for self-employment? If it is there only and if the prospective self-employees have different values or different mental attitudes which prevent them from accepting self-employment, then of course you have to do something to change that social environment which made them think that way. But on the other hand when you go deep into the subject I am of the firm conviction that anything 'self' - self-employment, self-government, self-realisation, anything that is for the self-enlightenment of the human being - is not allowed to grow and develop so easily. There are so many social fears imposed from the top on the people, that this is not allowed to grow. So I would rather talk on the subject based on my own experiences rather than try to give you an academic analysis of the problem because I am not qualified to do it.

Since Independence I believe we have had 21/2 decades of development hypocrisy. When I say development hypocrisy there have been three institutions trying to tell the people what to

do without ever allowing the people to participate in decision-making as that has been revealed by the various talks given here. The vast majority of our people live in rural areas, and these are the people who have to be given these opportunities, and these opportunities were not given to these people consciously, deliberately, or by a wrong conception of development by the elite in our society. We have had three forms of elite. Firstly, those who accepted the party political system and got into the field of party politics; who laid down the general policy of development. Secondly, those who advised and implemented these policies - the bureaucratic staff. Thirdly, the private sector, which, of course, was led by the profit motive. The ordinary people in this country had to operate, had to find their way to earn a living under these forces; and, as you know, these forces are generally backed of by the State power. Therefore, when dealing with subjects of this nature, it is very necessary to find out whether we have given a fair chance to the youth. Taking the rural masses as a whole, I believe these chances have not been given. So, that was the false start we made. You cannot imagine a division of labour between thought and action in development or vice versa - they should go together.

So, when we look at our community - I am confining my speech to Sri Lanka, because I hardly know the facts about the other countries - when we look at the rural areas in Ceylon, as Dr. Gamini Corea pointed out the other day, there is a lot of scope both in the areas that have been already brought under cultivation as well as in other areas - a lot of scope for people to engage themselves in self-employment in the field of agriculture. But when the people actually try to do it they are faced with a number of problems, problems which they cannot solve on their own, unless they change the entire environment - not only the social environment but the political, bureaucratic and economic environment in which they live. Therefore this is a basic question of development philosophy. I wonder whether in this country we have a development philosophy at all. It may be that various measures or values accepted by the West were adopted in this country also, in terms of the G.N.P. or growth rates and so on, but development is something more. It is the very quintessence of humanity. It is the progressive ascent of man in all its dimensions. But this is a basic philosophy which is not

foreign to our people. Therefore, if we are to reverse this process of making the people free, making the people accept, on their own initiative, self-development, we have to create a terrific psychological force among the masses of this country; and this psychological force has to be an interpretation of their own aspirations, a manifestation of their own development philosophy, a development that embraces not only the economic sector but a development that embraces the entire human community as well. In thinking of our own culture, the human being is at the centre, not the pyramidal structure we have today in our society. It was more or less a concentric circle where the human being was at the centre of everything, not a simple statistical digit which has to be measured and sorted shifted as the planners and others will do. For the human being it was fundamentally a question of the growth of human personality. Therefore fundamentally if self-employment or any other activity, as I mentioned earlier, where the people are to participate fully is to be generated in this country, we have to begin with awakening that consciousness of the people on a wide scale. What is this consciousness I am talking about? According to our culture the awakening of the personality of any human being was based on four definite principles and every family, every village and community as a whole had this philosophical background. These four principles were respect for all life, compassionate action to bring about happiness in others, learning to get joy of living by service to fellow beings and developing a balanced state of mind. The individuals always strived to live up to these four principles which they called Metta, Karuna, Muditha, Upekkha.

In the same manner the concepts of sharing, pleasant - language constructive action and equality were regarded as four principles of social conduct.

The indigenous philosophy gave a meaning to everything a person did as a member of a family, a farmer in the paddy field or a ruler over his people.

When you go to a village in Sri Lanka today and try to talk to the people in terms of these principles they will understand you very well. But if you start talking to them in terms of productivity, credit or in terms of other modern economic jargon,

they will not accept you. It is a sad omission that in modern economic planning, moral, cultural and spiritual foundations of the people have no place. Therefore people feel alienated from planning establishments.

This leads to a psychological situation where people neither become whole hearted participants of governmental programmes nor do they belong to a cultural pattern which had a stability of its own. In other words there is no phychological environment in which pre-requisites to accept self-employment are satisfied. I believe that a general moral degeneration has taken place in each country. A country that has lost its moral fibre can never progress. That is why we have to begin creating a social environment first clearing the psychological situation.

Let us take an example. Suppose in a village community there are a group of young people who are willing to start a co-operative agricultural venture. It is wellnigh impossible for them to obtain the land, their tools and equipment, subsistence till they can get a return and above all function as a group in freedom. All the established forces will be against them. The party politicians will look at them as enemies if they don't belong to their particular political party. If the politician is against them or indifferent the administration will take no interest. The local land owners and capitalists will also look at them as a potential threat to their economic interests. So even before they start any self-employment programme they get frustrated.

Last week I was addressing a group of young farm officers at Peradeniya, when one of the officers got up and told me 'We are afraid to organize a young farmers' group, because we fear that we will be accused as insurgents and taken to the police station and assaulted. 'Only three days ago I got a complaint from our Sarvodaya farm at Thanamalwila that when some sick person was being taken in a bus by one of our volunteers in our camp a police jeep came and without any questioning assaulted them on the ground that they were travelling after six in the evening. There is no curfew now and I can't understand why they behave in this manner. It's true that there are some people who believe in violence, take up guns and challenge the state. Let the state deal with them. We have no quarrel. But there are the majority of the people in this country who don't believe in violence. They must

be allowed peacefully to undertake ventures to make their livelihood. This is the environment in which you expect self-employment to generate.

How can we bring about a change? I do not want to go into details about this sad state of affairs. How can we bring about a change in this situation? Firstly, I believe that the problems are so vast that a revolutionary change is necessary', When I say, 'a revolutionary change is necessary', I mean the dictionary meaning of 'revolution', not the meaning given by various people with violence implied in it, because I personally believe that bloodshed is not necessary in this country to bring about a revolutionary change. A revolution is a fundamental and simultaneous change that should take place in three areas. Firstly, in the area of ideas, of values, and of ideologies. Secondly, in the area of methods and techniques that our people adopt in their day-to-day life, whether in the field of education, in the field of agriculture, or in the field of cottage industries, or in anything else. Thirdly, a change in the institutions beginning from village level to the national and international level. I say that there should be a simultaneous change, a change at the same time in the three spheres - of ideas, ideologies and values; a change in the methods and techniques; a change in the organizations and institutions. This has to take place.

Now what is the change in thinking we have to bring about? As I mentioned at the very outset, when you talk of development, or the development philosophy, when you think of development, those values have to be changed. How can you change them? You cannot change them by lectures, by seminars, by newspaper articles, by radio speeches. You have to change them by a situational approach to this problem. This is how we should do it; we have to take people from various stratified sectors of our community, ranging from the peasants and the workers to the most educated and the highly placed. We have to bring them to a point where they have to live together and work together and share in one anothers work together. Now through the Sarvodaya Movement - that is the method that we have adopted - we can bring about this change in thinking. Fifty of us decide to go and live in one of the most primitive places. It is not a question of simply going there physically and living there. There is a certain

preparatory work to be done from 5 in the morning till 6 in the evening. We have a programme of work where you work like members of one family. From the illiterate person to the most literate professor in the University, we live together, discuss together and eat together. In other words, we live together, a communication is established. In our country, and in many countries of South East Asia, communication between the ruling elite and the ruled is almost nil. The communication between the Head of the Ministry and the lowest officials in that Ministry is by circular. There had been 21/2 decades of development hypocrisy; that is why we are in this plight; we have to bring our people together. This is true in most South East Asian countries may be with the exception of China and a couple of other countries. We speak for the poor, we plan for the poor; we think for the poor; we know what is best for the poor, we request aid for the poor we evaluate what is done with the aid for the poor and one fine day we turn round and say: industrialisation is the panacea for all. This was in the early 1950s. People believed it and they were waiting till Gal Oya and other huge projects delivered goods. An officer of the Central Bank, in 1959 wrote a long article to the newspapers saying that the Sarvodaya Movement is aggravating the unemployment situation in this country by promoting Shramadana work. We were amazed at this. They said that more people will be unemployed as a result of hundreds and thousands of people doing development work without accepting any monetary reward. That was the thinking at that time.

Now we went a little further; we squandered all our money between 1948 and 1952; the foreign exchange reserve we had as a result of slaughter-tapping of rubber during this period was squandered. We spent all that money and then called for technical knowledge; we said that is what we need; we went all out for technical knowledge; the Colombo Plan and all that. Then we found technical knowledge gained through experts coming here and our experts going to other countries and becoming bigger experts will not pay. So we said we want more money; technical knowledge was not enough; we started running to the World Bank when people talked about self-reliance. It was primitive and it was postponing revolution according to one group of people; and according to the other group of people we

were going back to pre-historic times in this modern world. Modernity is not a question of time; it is a question of outlook at a particular time. This basic lesson which even our illiterate villager knew was not realised. Then they started shouting: technology did not help us; more and more capital will not help us; Why? because we are getting less and less from our exports. So then it was UNCTAD 1, UNCTAD 2, UNCTAD 3 and UNCTAD 4. UNCTAD is dominated by international capitalism. Whatever may happen they will not lose their present advantages in trade. They will not sit down and say we will have a limit to growth. All these things so far did not pay.

There is a fourth approach. May be the only one that can bring about development in developing countries. It should be self-aid; it should be self-reliance. So in evolving a development philosophy in which youth can take to self-employment this concept has to be developed very effectively and functionally. I told you one way that it could be done. That is, by finding a common ground where we can meet. We cannot meet at conference tables; we cannot meet as the boss and the obedient servant. We have to meet on equal terms. And that place is the rural village of Sri Lanka.

I heard some people say: comparatively, our people are very well off; they are getting very good social benefits; death rate is low; the other rate is low; health conditions are very good. I am sad to say that, that is not my experience, and I live more in villages than in cities. One-third of our people go to bed without being sure of a meal the following day. Even yesterday I took some friends out into the village, and they would have seen the emaciated bodies not only of adults but even of little children - they do not have anything to eat. Still, we are said to be the best fed people in Asia! Well, we were the best at the time the War was over. Now where are we? There is one lesson we have to learn from this - that is as I said, the need for a development philosophy, based on self-reliance. That is the first revolutionary change we have to bring about.

And how can we bring about this change? Look at education now - formal education. The formal education system is the base from which this type of philosophy has to be initiated. But what is happening there? Education cannot take place under non-free

conditions. Education can take place only under free conditions. When I say 'free', I do not mean a disorganized set up. Parents, teachers, students, social and natural environment - these are the main factors that influence education. But today what is happening? Today, education is the plaything of the bureaucrat and the politician. Teacher and the pupil come last. I say this after 18 years of being a teacher. So, the entire educational system has to be re-organized - re-organized on a basis of freedom, of self-reliance - if we are to build up this nation, because it is in the field of education that we can reach every home in this country. But, unfortunately, this aspect is completely forgotten.

Look at the various religious institutions in this country. There are a vast number of Buddhist temples in this country, churches and mosques and so many places with which at least the vast majority of people are associated. Now this is another centre for development action, as much as the school is for development action. But this is not made use of. These places look after the souls of people after death. But these places and these people are all doing an honorary job. They need not be paid. We are not getting full use out of them. That is why I mention this. Now this is another place, a traditionally organized centre, from where a dynamic development philosophy and action could be generated. This is also being ignored. Why? It is being ignored because of the way our nation is structured. When the British came here, they had to centralise everything because they were foreign rulers; and to keep their colonialism going, they had to have a bureaucracy whose responsibility was upwards. The village level officer being responsible to his superior; like that going up to the Governor or whoever it is, and then to London, to the colonial Government. Therefore they have to have that structure. Today we have the same structure. The Village Officer is not responsible to the village community; the divisional level officers is not responsible to the community; they are all responsible to their superiors and responsibility goes upwards; and the poor members of Parliament have to pay every five years because they are only people who have to go to polls. Now of course they are asking for administrative power, a more active role in the development process, but still the situation will remain the same because people are pushed to a side.

To bring about change we have to change the methods and techniques of how we do things. For example if you tell the people; you had better use toilets instead of using the jungle, they will not believe it. They will say; for generations we used our jungle. We do not want toilets. On the other hand, when we live in a project and they see us using toilets, even temporary sanitary toilets, then they begin to think and we get a chance to explain to them: this is how it is useful, and modern knowledge and methods of health science can be introduced to the people. This has to be done situationally. Today it is as distant as London was. This situation cannot bring about a change in the methods and techniques.

At the organizational level what happens. There are many examples I can give. The political minority in the village may be two or three people who know the Member of Parliament or who have a pull with somebody else - I am not referring to any particular government - can dominate the village people. During the last 20 odd years this has been happening. So that village level organizations are not powerfull enough to do anything if they disagree with the local power representative. They cannot go ahead with their projects. They will not get land. They will not get credit. They will not get government advice. This is what is happening to those at the very bottom. So if by some sort of action we can bring all these three groups together at the village level, at the divisional level, at the district level, as part and parcel of our people, then there is a chance of a breakthrough, and this is what we in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement are trying to do. So we bring all three elements together because they are all human beings - whether bureaucrat, politician or somebody else. We try to bring them all together irrespective of caste, irrespective of race, irrespective of religion, irrespective of party politics or nationality, and bring them all together as human beings and give them a challenge - the challenge of development - development of the total personality, the development of the village, development of the nation, and then youths will create the necessary social environment to create, to build, to produce.

Now, with this background I will very briefly explain how we set about in our movement to get youth into self-employment.

Firstly, for 10 years we organized a series of what we call shramadana camps in all parts of the country. It was not a continuing thing in one place. But we used this as an educational programme to educate ourselves as to those eight qualities of human development and good conduct as well as to inculcate in ourselves the qualities like dignity of manual labour. During this process we were able to discover quite a number of leaders.

When I say 'leaders', I do not mean the Santa Claus type of leaders who give everything freely, nor the Napoleonic type of leaders who are thugs, nor the type of spiritual leaders who have everything for the other world and nothing for this world. We try to find leaders who reflect the aspirations of the people. When Mahathma Gandhi was asked the question, 'Gandhiji, you are such a spiritual man, why do you not go to the Himalayas and meditate'? Gandhi replied, 'Well, certainly I will go to the Himalayas if my people go, because I am following my people'. That is the real leader who is truly behind the people, pushing the people forward; but the people feel it is they who go forward. That type of leadership is very much necessary in our country. We have leaders in the political field; we have an overdose of leaders in politics. Really too many. I think we have highly efficient and intellectually motivated government administrators in this country. We have people who can make money very efficiently and honourably. But among the people we have leaders who can stand above all this, and that type of leader we have discovered. We have discovered quite a large number of such people; and we have started 100 village development schemes which we have expanded now to 450, and the number is increasing. We found, when we were doing this work, it was very necessary to give two types of training for the youth. It is wrong to say 'training' in leadership; but in addition to changing their mental attitudes, we give them a scientific basis of organizing people - in other words, leadership training. Secondly, we give them a training in particular skills which would lead them to a vocation.

In this way we were able to get quite a large number of educated youth into the programme, which involves very hard work; and in the six farms we have, they have undergone a lot of hardship. They do not get the privileges most of the government

farms or other farms - the private sector capital intensive farms - are getting. But they are sticking to ours because they feel that they are ennobling themselves while there is a positive objective to be achieved. So, this type of thing could be expanded in a very big way. But if we try to do it in isolation, to get each individual as an individual to accept self-employment, I think we are bound to fail. As one of the speakers remarked, it is very important to have and foster the co-operative effort. We must make the individual fit in as part and parcel of the co-operative effort. This is, I think, one of the positive factors to the success of bringing in young people into employment.

Thirdly and lastly we found that however much we concentrated on a personality awakening programme, to build up leadership groups, dynamic programmes to build up a dynamic village community, we can never go ahead unless we find alternatives to the three biggest problems or obstacles to our country's progress.

Firstly, we have to put an end to this terrific decisive forcè we have in this country based on party politics. It does not suit the genius of our people; we have to find a party-less type of democracy for this country; a party-less type of socialist democracy - not one party like in Tanzania. I believe that the genius of our people would be able to think out some way whereby the best in every person, whatever party he is in, could be made use of to build up a society in which man will not exploit man politically, economically or socially. This we have to evolve.

Secondly we have to evolve a system of administration where the people come very much closer to the administration because even now there is a very big distance between the administration and the people. Actually, the administration should be part and parcel of the people. The people must be given opportunities to participate in decision-making. There is some fear on the part of decision-makers to get the people share their power; they are afraid of the people. I remember during the last Government's term of office at a certain meeting when somebody remarked: 'Sir, people trusted you and gave you power; why do you not give a little of your power back to the people'. And he replied, 'I am not going to give power to them; I will exercise the power'. This is the haughty attitude these people develop once they come to power.

This has to be changed. The people must be given a chance to participate in decision-making; not only to mark a cross on a ballot paper in five years.

Thirdly, we have the private sector and we have the public sector and we know the ills of both and the virtues of both. Cannot our genius evolve something which will not leave room for economic stagnation but at the same time build up some sort of trusteeship idea within the best of both which could be achieved, instead of having the private sector, the public sector, the corporation sector or Government sector and then the self-employment sector. The self-employment sector cannot cooperate with these sector. It is only good for academic purposes. As a nation we have to push forward like China and do it. Some people say through the bullet, but I do not believe in it.

But there was a mass consciousness created in this country thrice after 1948. There were three movements which we failed to take advantage of. The first was in 1956. In 1956 we had a movement when this community consciousness could have been awakened and put to national development. Well, with the death of the late Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike - he had a vision - we lost it. We had a second chance. That was the massive mandate the people gave this Government in 1970. What did they do? They started a campaign of revengeful vilification: all types of campaigns were directed against the people, making use of the power that the government had. I am one of those who were victimised because I did not care anything for their party politics, because my organization, the Lanka Jathika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya, is for goodness in man. All people have goodness and all people have evil. I have goodness, I have evil. Evil is well organized in society. Killing is well organized, legally and illegally, nationally and internationally. Stealing is well organized, legally and illegally, nationally and internationally. All the vices are well organized, legally as well as illegally. Untruth is well organized, legally and illegally. All the other vices in man, are very well organized. I believe in the organization of goodness in man, because there is such a terrific potentiality for goodness. Everybody has goodness, but when you harness the goodness of man - that is Sarvodaya - then you do not have time to satisfy the politician's ego by paying poojas. That second moment was missed in 1970

when the whole nation could have been put on to the 3 or 31/2 million acres of land and told, 'Let us build the nation out of this'. Well, we missed that second chance also.

The third movement was when the youth of this country demonstrated by guns, by actually firing and killing, saying that they could not wait any more; they wanted to change this structure. We missed that chance. Now we are convalescing: everything is fine; the five year plan is going to work. This chance was also missed.

First let us find an area where we all can meet. The Prime Minister has declared that 1973 is a development year. Let us define development. Development is the ascent of man in all aspects, not merely one aspect - it is the ennoblement of man. To achieve this collectively, man has to have a certain ethical measure, not the G.N.P. or other measures. We know that Pakistan had a high incidence of G.N.P. but poverty increased. That is a good example. On the other hand, Indonesia had a very fine equitable distribution, but the G.N.P. decreased. All these measures have their faults. But there is one measure which cannot fail - the ethical measure. It cannot, because it has the direct backing of certain religious principles observed by the people of this country; because when you go through the religious - I will not say religious -historical texts in this country, you will find economics, politics, morality, everything, very well mixed together. This is a thing we can give the world while we get scientific technology from the world. We have missed three chances. Now the time has come for us to create this environment, firstly the psychological environment, where you look at every human being as a dignified person, not as a person who is with you or against you. We are pilgrims going towards the same objective. That type of psychological environment has to be created. Having created that mental condition in the people, which can be done, which still can be done, then of course we isolate our problem. We will have our strategical options towards a solution. Then the development of the mass of people will go on by their own effort as a movement. Let the economists and politicians go on to serve this movement, because what ultimately can triumph is not *raja shakthi,* or *danda shakthi,* or force of coercive power; what ultimately will triumph is Force of Righteousness, Force of the People, and Mastery of the People; and the People are always Supreme.

SARVODAYA IN A BUDDHIST SOCIETY

'Non-violence should be utilized as a very effective weapon more than violence to bring about lasting structural changes without demeaning the dignity and worth of the human being. What Sarvodaya is attempting to do is to apply the Buddhist principles in development action including an effort to eradicate social, economic and political evils and injustices that plague our societies'.

This essay is based on the Sri Lankan experience of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. Therefore, whenever I refer to Sarvodaya what I mean is a Movement that was started in Sri Lanka in mid-1950s to bring about a non-violent, but radical change in our society beginning with the poorest and the most neglected villages of Sri Lanka. Today it has taken an organizational form as a body incorporated by Act of Parliament with a membership and an elected Executive Council. The Movement has its own fulltime professional staff and a body of voluntary workers helping in the development of over 2,000 villages in the country. It has its own Development Educational Institutes, Village Re-awakening Centres, Co-operative Economic Enterprises and other institutionalized bodies like any other organization committed to social change and development.

By a Buddhist society I do not mean society composed exclusively of Buddhists. What I mean is a community of people whatever be the religion they profess now, who have been influenced by values and traditions of centuries of Buddhist practices.

The word 'Sarvodaya' was first popularised by Mahathma Gandhi in India. It is said that Antyodaya is the sanskritized

word that Mahatmaji used to translate Ruskin's expression of 'unto this last'. Later to mean the concept of the well-being of all he used the word 'Sarvodaya' 'Sarva' meaning all and 'Udaya' meaning awakening.

At the core of the Buddhist teachings is the idea of respect for all lives - the first precept that a Buddhist is expected to follow. In a world where man exploits man, in certain instances most brutally, how can one justify the concept of well-being of all as different from the Hegelian concept of the greater good of the greater number? Advocacy of the idea of Sarvodaya or the well-being of all necessarily follows that the Sarvodaya Movement has to accept Metta-Loving-Kindness - which is the opposite of violence. So non-violence becomes a cardinal principle of Sarvodaya. Does this mean that Sarvodaya accepts in principle unjust structural arrangements in the present day world which keep the vast majority of people in want and misery? When Lord Buddha rejected 'Tanha' and showed it as the root cause of all suffering it was clear that he rejected the promotion of acquisitive instinct in man but encouraged Dana - Sharing and Beneficence - a means to realize egolessness and supreme happiness.

Non-violence could be utilized as a very effective weapon more than violence to bring about lasting structural changes without demeaning the dignity and worth of the human being. What Sarvodaya is attempting to do is to apply the Buddhist principles in development action including an effort to eradicate social, economic and political evils and injustices that plague our societies.

Sarvodaya believes that mind is the supreme Dhamma. If the motivating force in the mind is Metta or respect for all lives then a human being who accepts this principle has to necessarily translate this thought into concrete compassionate action called 'Karuna'. We are helping a landless cultivator to liberate himself from the bondage imposed on him by unscrupulous landowners not because we hate the landowner but because we love or respect the life of the poor landless

cultivator. We are fighting the misdeeds of the doer, in this case the landowner, and not the doer himself. There is no trace of illwill towards him. It is a struggle against an unjust system. Only when loving kindness and compassionate action are practised in this manner that we can get a positive emotional and intellectual reaction in the form of an immediate joy of service. This altruistic joy we have named 'Mudita'. If an individual's action can sustain this quality of fighting the evil deeds and not the evil doers then only it can result in a more permanent development of a characteristic in one's personality which we have named 'Upekkha' or equanimity. There is a thought, there is an action, there is an immediate reaction and finally there is a positive and more permanent character formation in the individual in such a process of thought and action. The Satara Brahma Viharana or the four sublime abodes of the Buddha's teachings are practised in Sarvodaya programmes in this manner.

We believe that Buddhist teaching devoid of this revolutionary meaning and application is incapable of facing the realities of the modern materialistic society. On the one hand we are strongly spiritual and on the other hand we are strongly revolutionary. We are not prepared to concede revolutionary monopoly only to those who base all their social actions on organised hatred. We have based our revolutionary approach on Loving Kindness and the organisation of compassionate action. It is impossible to build up just and righteous societies without a high level of spirituality even under most trying and exploitative situations. Bodhisatva had been fighting despots using even violence but without hatred towards the adversary. When King Dutugemunu fought King Elara the way he treated the fallen enemy shows that even in war one can fight without hatred towards the enemy. Progressive movements of modern times have mostly failed to bring in this magnanimity towards their opponents in their struggles for social justice. This is because their ideology did not embrace totality of existence and did not pay head to the fact that every human being has the potential to attain supreme enlightenment.

In the Sarvodaya Movement 'Satara Sangraha Vastu' or the four cardinal principles of social conduct taught in Buddhism form the basis for its village development programmes. The land, wealth, knowledge skills, resources have to be shared by all and not utilised for one's well-being only. Enlightened public opinion has to be created so that any right of private ownership of property is permissible so far as it may be allowed by society for its own welfare. Wealth energy education should not be used for selfish satisfactions or in disregard to societal interests. The quality of Dana - Sharing or Beneficence could be practised beginning with sharing on one's time, thought and energy for community service programmes - Shramadana. Secondly, Priya Vachana or pleasant language is practised. Third all mental, verbal and physical activities should take a constructive form consummating in individual and social good. This is Arthacharya. Equality in association or Samanatmatha should be practised not only in a quantitative way only but also in harmony with quality. All the Sarvodaya programmes are organized in such a way that these four social principles are practised by its workers.

There are nearly 100 places in Sri Lanka called Sarvodaya Development Education Institutes and Gramodaya Centres where Buddhist philosophy has once again been brought into community actions. For example, all the social teaching of the Buddha such as the virtues embodied in Sapta Aparihaniya Dharma (seven factors of non-degeneration), teachings of Maha Mangala Suttra and Parabhava Suttra, the socio-economic principles embodied in Vyaggha Pajja Suttra etc., practised to a greater or lesser extent according to our diligence in these co-operative community ventures where members live under one roof like those of one large family.

The Sarvodaya Movement is not dogmatic in its approach. The freedom of the individual within his cultural milieu is respected at all times as long as it does not come into conflict with Buddhist values. The sanctity of all life is always foremost in our thoughts and actions. Caste discrimination for

example, is not upheld by the Movement. On the other hand every effort is made to fight this social evil. Division of community life on consideration of politics or religions is not approved by the Movement. In all Sarvodaya Centres in the true spirit of Buddhism all religions are given an equal place and their adherents are provided with time and facilities to practise their own religions.

In the industrialized world the basic material needs of most people who live in those countries have been satisfied. But the psychological and intellectual needs are hardly satisfied in their rush for creation of more and more material wants. In the poor countries of the world neither the material needs nor the intellectual needs have been satisfied for their vast majorities of people. Religions, customs and traditions have kept them satisfied at a psychological but at a sub-human level. Under these present realities of the world the Sarvodaya Movement besides its other activities, is attempting to give a more pragmatic development philosophy to the Sri Lankan society as well as other societies in the world.

Development should be man-centered. The changes, that are brought about in the socio-economic and political environment should be such that they contribute to the fullest development of the personality of the individuals living in that society. There should be a spirituo-cultural and socio-economic content in all development processes. Development should start from the grass-roots from the village up. People should fully participate in planning for development and in the implementation of such plans. The technological knowledge prevailing at the peoples' level and the available local resources should be used initially. Progressively and appropriately it could be upgraded with advanced knowledge. National development plans should be based, not partially but totally on this broad-based peoples' participation. It should first strive to satisfy the basic needs of the people and not artificially created wants that are a blind imitation from materialistic cultures.

These are some of the ideas that the Sarvodaya Movement is trying to put across.

In keeping with these ideas village development programmes, development education activities and building up of grass-root institutions are carried out by the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka. The ideal of Sri Lanka being a 'Dharma Dveepa' (Land of Righteousness) and 'Danyagara' (Land of Plenty) is always foremost in the minds of the Sarvodaya workers. We have to go a long way to achieve this ideal but the first step has been already taken in a direction we believe to be the right one.

May All Beings Be Well And Happy.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

'Education for us is synonymous with the total awakening of personality of the individual. This process takes place throughout one's lifetime and may be continued even after that, if one believes in rebirth. The final consummation of this awakening process is the total enlightenment of man to his or her complete self-realization'.

Strategies for social welfare action

At the the very outset I must confess that my ideas on this subject are conditioned by my own experiences in the society to which I was born, where I was brought up, and in which I continue to live and serve.

The terms 'education' and 'equality' in our cultural tradition have had a profound meaning full of great human values. If we truly are to understand the confusion that we see around us in our communities and in the world today and find a road to liberation it may be helpful for us to examine even briefly, from our respective cultural viewpoints, what was understood by these expressions.

Education for us is synonymous with the total awakening of personality of the individual. This process takes place throughout one's lifetime and may be continued even after that, if one believes in rebirth. The final consummation of this awakening process is the total enlightenment of man to his or her complete self-realization. This demands constant and diligent training and understanding in the mindfulness of one's body, one's emotions, one's mind, and the mental phenomena in addition to the external knowledge one has to acquire for the satisfaction of one's material, social, and cultural needs. True education should lead us from knowledge to wisdom.

All other forms of training, such as the development of skills in literature, languages, sciences, arts and crafts, and technologies, while they are of vital social importance, are at most only contributory factors in achieving the principal goals of an awakening human being. In a society where such a goal is kept before the minds of its members, equality of opportunity among them becomes an inherent characteristic of that society. On the other hand, if literacy or other forms of training are confused for the end product of education, then, of course, equality will remain an ever receding distant target in our highly competitive materialistic societies. For the people of the economically poor countries of the world an inequality gap of several centuries is too much of a hurdle to jump, even with so-called 'educational systems' having a most sophisticated technological bias.

The concept of equality in human societies has to be understood both in qualitative and quantitative terms. It is like the five fingers on a hand. If the fingers were all alike and of the same length we would not be able to do much with them. In their collective function each one of them is equally important. Human beings in a society have to be understood in the same way. We are human to the extent that while we understand and appreciate our qualitative differences we also know the art of living together without creating a sort of superhuman being and a subhuman being groups amidst us. Unfortunately, that is what has happened in reality in the human society today. An educational philosophy or system that ignores this fact is not worth its name.

According to the cultural education I was subjected to, I was taught four factors that influence the growth and development of a human being, namely, the environmental factor, the biological hereditary factor, the karmic hereditary factor, and the mind factor (self-mastering). In this teaching, with the exception of the biological hereditary factor, all the factors are within the power of the individual's mind to change. Education, primarily, is the process that helps the individual to understand and to be conscious of these forces and to bring them under his control so that his personality is brought into a dynamic stream of developing his potentialities toward his own self-fulfillment and

for the well-being of other members of his society. If the environment in which he lives is not conducive to such environment then the educational systems should gear themselves to change that environment.

What is the environment that modern society has built up? How far are the economic, political, and social arrangements we see around us helpful to personality awakening, happiness, and the joy of living?

Can the mind of an individual human being today control the complex machine-managed society in which he is living? Where is the rich world heading with an ever increasing pollution of land, water, and air and a senseless consumption of non-renewable resources and a craze for more and more luxuries while millions elsewhere lack the basic essentials of life? Where is the poor world heading, throwing aside our simple ways of living and imitating the life styles of the rich nations? Do we intend to put the underprivileged majority in the world into an educational process which will only make some of the more enterprising among them, in the name of equal opportunities, take the same path that a minority elite before them took toward privilege? Is this the solution? I would say an emphatic no.

The time has come for us to stop for a moment and think. We have to question the very fundamentals of our approach. Education as practised today has brought nothing but hopelessness frustration, anger, and damnation for life to many millions of young people in the world. Similarly, in the name of development, many millions are enslaved today economically, politically, and morally. Educational systems have been manipulated to widen the inadequate equalities that already exist. Our universities have been functioning like wholesale-markets while the schools have conducted themselves like retail shops. Certainly, a perpetuation of this system, with whatever beautiful words we coin from time to time to accommodate those who dropped out of this system, such as nonformal education, can no longer take our people on the road to equal opportunities. Social welfare organizations will also be scratching only the surface and will be struggling only with the symptoms of the social disease unless they delve deep into the causes that have brought about the inequalities that we see built

into our social system. Social welfare workers have a dual role to play. On the other hand, they have to bring immediate relief to the distressed wherever they may be and whatever needs they have. They also have to raise the level of consciousness of the afflicted to remove the man-made causes that led them to an oppressed situation of unequal opportunities.

Please do not think I am trying to advocate that social welfare workers have to take to power politics. I am only mentioning the importance of transforming the present unjust environment into a just one at all levels and in all fields without ourselves getting trapped in a situation of hunting for power ourselves. This is a great challenge which has to be faced very delicately. I believe that the greatest ingenuity possessed by the human being is expressed at times of greatest challenge. We have such a challenge today and we have to stand up to it and find new solutions. It must be recognized that this is a universal challenge and should be faced as such. Concerned educators and social welfare workers the world over can and should play a key role in blazing a new trail in human civilization where human beings express their solidarity with one another by sacrifice, sharing, and non-cooperation with any form of exploitation of man by man.

Some believe that a transfer of political power from one group to another democratically or otherwise is the surest way to bring about equality, and they advocate political action as opposed to education and social welfare. They may be right if, firstly, such changes bring about raising the level of consciousness of members of the society and, secondly, if they change the very structures of economic, bureaucratic, and political organizations so radically as to bring them within the direct control of the people. Unfortunately, instances of such achievements are rarely heard of. Perhaps it is within the capacity of educators and social welfare workers to achieve the same objectives in a more gently but concrete way. I believe that the path to the realization of the objective lies through an integrated approach to education, welfare, and development, and structural change.

We should not be dazzled by the monstrous structures that we see around us be they bureaucratic, militaristic, or otherwise

in nature. Like everything else in a transient world these also have to change. Of course, conscious actions by persons who believe in the dignity and equality of man and are prepared to make sacrifices for these ideals can quicken the pace of this change. We can make a beginning in our own small surroundings wherever we may be. What is needed are grass-roots actions in thousands of places in the world, showing by example a new pattern of total education and new ways of development participation where man and his human values are right at the heart of our work. Instead of institutions and orders coming from above, from a distant decision-making source, the personality awakening of man and the awakening of groups of people on a basis of co-operation and sharing will begin to influence our lives. This is the true beginning of the path to equal opportunities.

Lack of grass-roots initiative and leadership is one of the main sources of the present unbalanced nature of our society. The habit of looking toward the top to initiate changes at the bottom has not paid dividends. Instead, organize the bottom and the top will necessarily have to change. Without involvement in power politics it is possible for social welfare and community development workers with a vision and sense of dedication to achieve a tremendous lot. After all, as the ICSW* President remarked at the opening session of this conference, 'political power structures are not the only realities in the world that affect the lives of people'.

In my country, Sri Lanka, the movement I represent has already successfully initiated this process of self-development in over a thousand village communities. While keeping our total freedom and identity as a non-governmental people's movement we have succeeded in getting our schemes integrated with governmental efforts and getting maximum benefit to the people from progressive policies of land reform, decentralization of development schemes and administrative systems, pre-vocational and project systems in education, and self-employment promotional schemes.

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* International Council for Social Welfare

I am a strong believer in the importance of laying a psychological infrastructure among the masses of people for involvement in social welfare and development action as an essential prerequisite to all other changes we intend to bring about. Even among groups that have been lagging behind for several centuries an opportunity thus provided for self-development can bring about an all-round reactivization of their community life. This can be followed up with laying a social infrastructure where all members of the community - pre-school children, children of school age, youth, women, farmers, and others - are organized on a functional basis so as to enable them to cooperate to meet their own needs. These same groups can participate in deciding the type of physical infrastructure they need and the type of education, vocational training, socially appropriate economic technologies, consumption patterns, marketing organizations, basic health care, care of the handicapped, and cultural life they need. Can we, the social welfare workers and community educators, guide this whole process of providing an opportunity for the broad masses of people to participate thus in fields directly pertaining to their own immediate life situations? No power on earth will be able to resist a people's awakening of this nature when it starts from the base and is directly beneficial to the people.

If we accept this position, social services of all types presently carried on the voluntary agencies as well as the multifarious social welfare activities promoted by governments, including education, have to be systematically geared to promote people's initiative rather than impose on them centrally decided palliative measures. Every stage of formal education, be it primary, secondary, university, or higher, should be a complete exercise in itself, strengthening community bonds and catering to people's needs. Disintegration of rural communities, unemployment, economic stagnation and even the so-called 'brain drains' may be checked by an education, thus centered in the community. Such an approach will make many new findings in social research and new knowledge compiled in centers of higher education meaningful and useful in real-life situations. Also, new, meaningful areas for research and discovery will be opened up. It is left to each of us according to situations in our own areas to work to design strategies for such a reorientation in

education and related activities.

Let us not even for a moment assume that those who control the political, economic, administrative, and even educational establishments are unaware of the seriousness of the situation in their own countries and the world. They know that mass unemployment, low incomes, class divisions, scarcities of food, clothing, shelter, health-care facilities, problems of pollution, and so on, threaten their good health also. But they too have to work within the limitations of a machinery which they have inherited or created and of which they do not have complete control. Under these circumstances, if a way out of this impasse is shown by practical action, however small it may be, I am sure that such actions will have a multiplier effect toward building a world with less unequal opportunities and with least harm to human lives.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES AND HEALTH

'This whole system of values - the techniques and structures - were superimposed so it was not easy to break through them. When we were children, we still remember that, for most of the illnesses, for which we now rush to the doctor, there were very effective home remedies both curative and preventive. This system was a type of a primary health care, prevailing in our society. These systems were not killed by our people, but they were smothered out of existence by the surreptitious introduction of so-called modern systems of western medicine'!

Friends, I was wondering why I accepted the invitation to address a professional group like you, particularly, as I am a village worker. Human beings have strange ways and when I got the cable asking me to come and speak to you, promptly I responded, without thinking why.

Now I am here and I will think aloud on the theme you have given me, Community Resources and Health. I represent the movement which was introduced as Sarvodaya: 'Sarva' means all, 'Udaya' means awakening - awakening all. So, to me community means everybody - all of humanity. If I may go further, community means the entire living world, because in our culture, health or even medicine is defined as something that is found everywhere. It cannot be taken out of any experience or situation which affects the mental or the physical well-being of man.

To give a good example, in Buddhist literature the most famous physician was a man called Jeevaka. He had to undergo training for a very long time under his teacher in the city of Taksila. For seven years, he studied under this teacher and he was a brilliant student. One day, he asked his teacher, 'Sir, I have been with you for seven years. Everything you taught me, I have studied. Could you tell me how much longer have I to study under you before I could start practising'? The teacher told him, 'You had better go around the City, an area of sixteen square miles, make a list of things that cannot be used for medicine, and then come back'. So this student went around everywhere, trying to make a list of things that he could not

use for medicine. He came back and told the teacher, 'Sir, their is nothing I could find that cannot be used for medical purposes'.

Now, in the Eastern part of the world, this is the way that we look at things. For example, our science of medicine is called ayurveda - science of life. So, to me, to build up the health of a people, the greatest resource we have is our physical and our living environment. First, the human being. In my country, I have had experience for the last almost 25 years in trying to mobilize the resources for the well-being of man. When you have to mobilize human beings as a resource for their own well-being you have to find out what the most valued thoughts in their culture are.

In my culture, every human being was supposed to work towards the total awakening of his full personality, based on certain principles. To awaken one's personality people believe that the first principle they should accept is the thought of well-being of all - respect for all life. Respect for man, animal and plant. Respect for all life, therefore, was the fundamental principle on which all great cultures in Asia, particularly in India and Sri Lanka, were built.

In my own country, people had a sort of a national anthem which they sang for nearly 25 centuries in which they said. 'May there be seasonal rains. May there be non-violent economic prosperity. May the entire world be happy. May the rulers be righteous'. Now, this was the wish of the community - the wish of the nation. In other words, they never thought in terms of the well-being of the majority. When you look at the figures which Dr. James P. Grant just gave, my country happens to be one of the better off countries in the developing world. But, are we going to be satisfied with this? Personally, I am not going to be satisfied until such time as every single human being is free of disease.

There is no equivalent word in our language for disease. We call it dukka. Dukka means contact with suffering. Suffering may be due to a number of reasons, thus a person can become ill due to a number of reasons. One may be due to the introduction of a certain virus or germ or bacillus; secondly, there may be physical ailments due to your metabolic process not functioning well; thirdly, there may be certain mental disabilities; fourthly, their are natural causes such as hunger, thirst, senility and, finally, death. All these conditions result in contact with suffering.

So, the culture to which we are born provided us with a method by which a form of healing was evolved whereby we could experiment and discover the four causes of suffering. In the case of the first, perhaps they resorted to surgery; in the case of the second, they may have used medicine; in case of the third they might have applied a sort of psychiatry or some similar type of treatment. Fourthly, in the case of natural diseases - when I say natural, I have in mind conditions like senility. Why are we born? Why do we die? Why do we get old? There are some spiritual answers to these rather cryptic questions. That is why, in certain holy texts, Lord Buddha was referred to as the 'Biggest Healer'; not because he healed physical ailments, but because he relied on the inscrutable power of nature in curing even deadly diseases. He said, 'I have found a way. Here you are! You also try it out'.

Therefore, I say that personality 'awakening', is the foremost thing in life, and acceptance of the thought, 'respect for all life', leads one to compassionate action. What I do now, including my coming here, can be regarded as a compassionate action. I believe that every body should have welfare, but there are people who are suffering. As a human being, if I go in search of those who are suffering, and do something - some compassionate action to remove the causes that lead to their suffering - I become happy, because I have made a positive contribution to ensure another's happiness.

So, there is a thought - respect for life - and there is compassionate action - to remove causes that lead to suffering. Third, there is an immediate result, the joy of sharing one's joys with others. And this would almost effortlessly lead to a fourth state, namely, mental balance. This state may be described as equanimity. These are the four principles which determine whether a human being is on the path to true progress. So this line of action provided the philosophy for the individual.

The culture, on the other hand, provided another set of principles for the society.

If, as a group, we are to progress within the ambit of a family, or a village, or a nation, or even the world community there should be certain basic principles guiding us. Most important of all principles is the principle of sharing - sharing of knowledge, sharing of resources, sharing of love, compassion etc. This should be cultivated as a fundamental quality among human beings. Then

comes 'pleasant language', the refined art of communicating with one another. You know in the world today, how much money, how much resources, are being spent to alienate man from man, rather than to integrate different groups of human beings. Third in importance comes 'constructive activity'. As a general rule, human beings should get together only for the purposes of constructive activity. Fourthly, equality in relationship with others.

So, based on these eight principles, four of which are meant for the individual, and four for the group, we started a movement to bring about a type of all-round development, starting from the grass roots level. We are a country of village communities, like most others in the world. We have about 23,000 villages in our country. In these 23,000 villages, over 85 percent of our people live. And these people have had, as I pointed out earlier, a rich culture. How far can we harness this culture to bring about betterment in their lives? Groups of us, who accepted these ideas, started going to village areas, not with a patronizing attitude, but with a certain feeling of oneness with the rural communities. We lived with them; we talked with them; we planned out development programmes with them; and then we worked together, shoulder to shoulder, with them to solve some of the basic problems that they were faced with. In this process, whether they were engaged in education or trying to increase the income of village communities, one fundamental factor emerged, that is that all the problems in village life have a strong inter-relationship.

Unless we learn to look at these problems sympathetically, we may fail to appreciate that a problem in a rural community in Sri Lanka may have a direct relevance to your way of life in this country. We cannot escape that fact. There is however, a vicious circle that is operating. We have to break this vicious circle that is operating. We have to break this vicious circle - a circle which is composed of illiteracy, disunity, disease and ignorance - which has to be correctly identified for a solution to be effected. Because of illiteracy, a man may have a low income; because of illiteracy, a man may suffer from disease. Because of illiteracy and low income and disease, a man may be subjected to a political and economic type of exploitation. In other words, this whole thing works in the form of a vicious circle.

When we go to a village community, the first thing we have to

do is to lay a psychological infrastructure in the village which will enable us to transcend all man-made barriers and try to think together. I think I should explain to you what I mean by the psychological infrastructure. This is very important, because various people have various notions of people's participation. Everybody speaks of people's participation. A bureaucrat going into a rural area in his brand new imported jeep, and having a few words with the village people, comes back to the office and speaks jubilantly of 'People's participation in planning'. That is just poppy-cock!

During the last two centures or so, our country, which was subjected to colonial rule, evolved three dangerous structures. The first of these can be regarded as the system of economic exploitation, where the rural areas were exploited by people in urban areas for the preparation of which a certain legal base was supplied by their successors. The second obnoxious structure can be regarded as the highly bureaucratized administration in which the administrator was not responsible to the village community, but was responsible to his superior administrator - the hierarchy ascending up to the administrative capital, Colombo. This type of bureaucratic system did not represent the aspiration of the people but represented the wishes of the rulers. Third, although of very recent origin, a political system - a party political system where the village - level party politician did not represent the wishes of the village people, but rather was an instrument of the people in the city or in some instances reflected the views of entirely alien countries - grew up quite menacingly!

So, people had to work within these systems. The ethos of rural people was destroyed by the aforementioned three systems, and one of the fundamental principles we had to face was to find ways and means of changing the unpleasant situation arising out of these systems and evolve some positive paths to progress, introducing in the wake a judicious health-care system, as well.

Other countries had departments of health. So it was natural that we also should have a department of health! They had a director for this department. Therefore, we too, should have a director. They had superintendents of health services, so we also should have superintendents of health services. The doctors in other countries received a very high income and enjoyed a special

social status. So it came to pass that our doctors should also be well paid, whether people live or die, and maintain their status at all cost.

This whole system of values - the techniques and structures - were superimposed, so it was not easy to break through them. When we were children, we still remember that, for most of the illnesses, for which we now rush to the doctor, there were very effective home remedies both curative and preventive. This system was a type of a primary health care, prevailing in our society. These systems were not killed by our people, but they were smothered out of existence by the surreptitious introduction of so-called modern systems of western medicine! Of course, now, a new respect for traditional systems seems to emerge unobtrusively, and we of the movement have not failed to take cognizance of this trend and push it whole-heartedly to the benefit of the country.

In this context, it would appear that problems of health in rural areas are interrelated to a number of other problems - issues that affect the community as a whole. So in our Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, we first think of some activity - may be an access road to the village, may be a system of irrigation for the village and the rice field, may be the sinking of a series of wells or latrines, something that the people feel they badly need - and set about to achieve it. That is the genesis of a Shramadana work camp, where we who have come from a number of other villages will live together, eat together and work together, planning out collectively and arriving at decisions by consensus. Here the people join for a common purpose motivated by the ideals of brotherhood of man, working shoulder to shoulder as equals in a common endeavour, and the end result is a successful development programme fulfilled, while imparting of a kind of non-formal education. But we will not fail to get expert advice when deemed necessary. This actually is an effective exercise in reversing the existing bureaucratic process.

During these Shramadana work camps, we meet three times a day in what is called a 'Family Gathering'. The idea is to foster and cultivate assiduously the spirit of brotherhood in the minds of all the participants. The farmer realizes how much modern knowledge there is, how much he has to learn. The professor realizes how ignorant he is with regard to the life of the village

communities. Thereby a two-way communication line is established. In other words, it becomes an educational process for both these groups. This becomes all the more important because, if we are to change the present situation in our communities, we have to think of an integrated approach by which we can bring about a change in the thinking, in the attitudes, in the values, in techniques and in the change in structures.

All these three things have to go together. I will illustrate. About 18 years ago, as a young, very enthusiastic rural worker, I was very keen that every house should have a latrine. So with great difficulty, I persuaded a family to put up a latrine. About a year later, I visited that village again, and I found the same latrine beautifully locked up with a padlock. I went and asked the man what happened: 'Are you not using it, or have you kept it very clean'? He said, 'Sir, at that time we agreed to put it up because my daughter was expecting to get married, and somebody was coming to see the daughter, but that got postponed. Therefore, we are waiting until that occurs'.

Now what did we do? We gave them that instrument, but we did not change their attitudes. We did nothing else, not even in the area of techniques. Today, it is different. After the initiation stage where we get a majority of the people in the community thinking and planning together and participating in the implementation of those plans, we come to a second stage, where we build up a sort of a social infrastructure in the village.

There are pre-school children in the village and they are organized into a group. The school-going children seven to fifteen years of age are organized into another group. The mothers' group, the youth group, out of school youth group, farmers' group, and what we call others' groups are organized, and inspired and trained to service.

So in a village, we get six functional groups organized, not one after the other, but create situations where the groups evolve spontaneously. And then, these groups start discussing. For example, my own nine year old son, from November 5th last year to November 5th next year, has organized about 300 children of his age. And what do they do? They have distributed an earthenware pot into which children have to put boiled and filtered water and drink water only from that.

In other words, in a very functional way, they learn positive health

habits. In this way, not only the adults, not only the professionals, but even very small children, through song and dance and various activities, get organized so that they are able to play their role in building up the health of community - that is, the total health in all aspects of the group of people living in the village.

From the psychological infrastructure stage to the social infrastructure, we come to a third stage where we try to get the best use of modern knowledge by training people from those communities themselves in small institutions we have established. We have 50 small and six large institutions where people are able to come, individually, or as a group, and learn modern applications in the fields of agriculture or health or education. Now these people, when they go back to the villages, generally as teenagers or in their early twenties, there is an input of leadership that is not only an inspired type of leadership from cultural and spiritual values, but also leadership with scientific knowledge added.

These groups of people lay a foundation to activate the economic life of the village. In other words, they go into the areas of irrigation, improved agriculture, small industries, and now appropriate technologies. And these things need, sometimes, financial inputs. For this purpose, we have established a small revolving fund which we help these people to find the necessary capital for them to start their ventures. So, very briefly, starting from the cultural base of a people, we have been able to develop a programme whereby nearly 120,000 families have become participants in a self-development programme.

Of course, this type of programme in politically highly active societies like ours, is very difficult to develop, because various interest groups would look at this type of programme as a threat to their own well-being. In spite of this, we have been able to survive, because we have kept away from any party or ideological, political groups. We allowed this to develop as a movement, where people themselves are the masters of what they decide and implement. Therefore, we are able to survive.

In the Sri Lanka situation, as Dr. Grant very rightly mentioned, we were benefited by very early social welfare measures taken in our country. As early as the late 1940s, there was free distribution of rice which helped the vast majority of people in maintaining a minimum level of nutrition. There were free health services, and there was free education. These three measures taken by respective governments

made our task much easier. Subsequently, for the last seven or eight years, there has been much legislation that brought about basic social changes, such as in land reform. These things helped us very much.

But all these things can be meaningful only if we do not lose sight of the importance of the quality of the individual in this whole process of development. In our mad rush to increase productivity, to increase per capita income, we lose sight of many things, and most often, forget the human being.

Now in the context of our world, I believe that there should be more consideration given to the mental health of our people. Today, our society - I can speak for my own Sri Lankan society - would have been much richer if the dicision-making groups in our country were healthier in their minds, because rash decisions on the part of mentally sick person holding immense power can bring about unwholesome situations to millions of people.

This is only an introduction. I believe that, during the course of the discussions, I will be able to explain to you in greater detail how, based on cultural and spiritual values, we are attempting to make use of all the available resources in the community - beginning from the village and going up to the world - and trying to better the health of our people.

PRIMARY HEALTH CARE AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

'It must not be a process where some of us, with great scientific and technical knowledge want to sit down and plan and expect the community to passively participate. This is wrong. When most development organizations, including the WHO set the minimum human needs satisfaction targets for the year 2000 AD, for example, to give basic health services to every human being, do you think that most of the deprived communities in this world will accept it? Not only the WHO, all the world organizations, whose documents I have read, have set their tagets by the year 2000. A.D.'

You all may have heard the story of an old king who said 'In my kingdom there are no thieves and there are no misers as well. If we apply this story to our times, we cannot think of any government in the world which could say 'We are the Community.' Similarly we cannot also find a community which could say 'We are the Government'. In other words, still we have governments and communities within the same society which remain separated from each other. Most of you represent governments. I represent, may be a community. I know, we all would be very happy and satisfied if all of us can represent both governments and communities at the same time. Unfortunately, we are yet to see the dawn of that day. I have been asked to talk about community involvement and community participation. Therefore, whatever I say, it is totally from the point of view of the community and not from that of the government. I am solely responsible for whatever I say. I did not want to prepare a speech. If I did that I could have very successfully deceived all of you, so that I get another invitation from you to attend another seminar. I want to think aloud with you here and now. being a community worker, and being involved, 24 hours of the day, 365 days in the year, I will think aloud how I look at the theme that we discuss.

First let me congratulate the WHO and UNICEF for this very intensive study that had been undertaken in community

organization, community involvement and community action with particular reference to Primary Health Care.

When a government cannot deliver the fullest services to its community to satisfy the community's needs naturally community organizations at a non-governmental level spring up. I come from such an organization, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.

Our organization always maintains four principal objectives:

Firstly, the total awakening of the personality of every human being, starting from oneself.

Secondly, awakening of the community; it may be the village community or it may be an urban community. In other words, considering that every human being belongs to a small community, the total awakening of that community.

Thirdly, these communities are organized in modern times as 'Nations', therefore, national awakening.

Fourthly, we can no longer talk in terms of individuals, communities or nations; we have to talk in terms of the world; therefore the world awakening.

These are the four aspects of total awakening.

For the human being to awaken himself there are certain basic human needs that have to be satisfied. With regard to these human needs, there must be a certain consensus of opinion among communities and governments. Therefore, in our work as village level workers, we always keep in mind ten basic requirements that we feel are essential to be satisfied if a human being's personality is to be totally awakened. These are:

1. A clean and beautiful environment.
2. An adequate and pure supply of water.
3. The minimum clothing needs.
4. An adequate and balanced food supply.
5. A place to live - housing.
6. Basic health care services.
7. An access road to their community and also a path-way to

their homes and communication possibilities.

8. Energy sources - to boil their water, to cook their food, to light their homes.
9. A formal and an informal educational programme, which is not confined to a particular age group but which caters to the needs of the community as a whole.
10. Lastly, they should have a cultural and spiritual environment in which those innermost needs of the human beings could be satisfied.

Within the context of these ten basic human needs, of course, come the primary health care programmes. When you think of these ten basic human needs, you cannot think of them in isolation. You have to think of them as one total process. Today, in the world when we talk of development, or anything as a matter of fact, we hear very much talk about people's participation. Here also we talk about community participation, community involvement, community action, mobilization of community resources for effective primary health care work and so on. Why only talk of community's involvement in something which is evolved by somebody else? Why not we talk of the governments and others getting involved and participating in what communities have thought about and developed also?

Now in my own country, in over 1000 places, especially over the last five years, we have evolved a system where pre-school children, needy school-going children, lactating and expectant mothers, sick and old people - these six categories of people - are being organized on their own to provide three essential services, namely, nutrition, health care and mental and social development services. This is being done in about 1000 places involving nearly 150,000 who are beneficiaries as well as participants. I say beneficiaries as well participants because they are not only recipients of certain services but they are also the promoters of those services.

No government service programmes, I know of, exist in my country that cater to this number of human beings in this type of organized and people-centred manner. In other words a non-governmental programme in Sri Lanka has succeeded in building up an effective children's service programme. This is a programme

of the people by the people for the people keeping the mother and the child at the centre. Here is a programme that has been evolved by people themselves in response to their felt needs. What a government should do, what the social development planners and administrators should do, is to identify these programmes and render them all support to do their work better without trying to control or manipulate them.

In an instance like this is it wrong to tell the planners 'Look, here we have succeeded in building up a children's service programme. Why don't you build into this programme what you intend to do in this field? Participation and involvement must be a two-way process with mutual respect and equality in association.

It must not be a process where some of us with great scientific and technical knowledge want to sit down and plan and expect the community to passively participate. This is wrong. When most development organizations, including the WHO set the minimum human needs satisfaction target for the year 2000 AD, for example, to give basic health services to every human being, do you think that most of the deprived communities in this world will accept it? Not only the WHO all the world organizations, whose documents I have read have set their targets by the year 2000.

Last Thursday, in my own country, I attended a public meeting. Three young men came to me and said ..... Sir, on your return to Colombo, you must visit our village'. I said, 'I cannot promise to come; but where is your village? They told me that their village was called Ampe, which I had to visit when I return home. I said, 'when I come to your village, pass through your village, it would be mid-night'. They said, 'It does not matter, from ten o'clock in the night onwards we will sleep near 48th mile-post till you come so that we could take you to our village'. I reached the village at eleven o'clock. These people took me to the village and there were nearly 1200 men, women and children all seated on the ground in the open air. They were having a folk play until I arrived. It was never planned; it was planned only that evening. They told me that 15 years ago it was difficult for them to reach the bazaar through another village because they happened to belong to a socially lower caste. So, they decided to stab one of their own men and implicate another from the next village and thereby create public opinion against this injustice. So two of them in mid-night walked towards the main road and exactly near the

home of the leader of that higher class community, took a knife, wrapped a piece of cloth around that knife and stabbed the other man who was his own friend, to involve somebody else to bring about public opinion. He never meant to kill him. It went half an inch deeper than what they expected. The victim died and this created public opinion. This was how they got the access from the village. They told me 'we do not want to fight anybody; we are well organized to develop the village'.

After centuries of deprivation and suffering they have organised themselves for self-development. Can I tell the, 'Please wait a little longer - till the year 2000 A.D All your problems will be solved'. This is impossible. While there is malnutrition among the vast majority of people in the world a minority of rich people have enough to feed the world. What do they do? They spend billions to produce armaments. They destroy their yields or underproduce food grains to keep a stable-price mechanism. While these injustices are going on in the world can we turn to the poor and say 'wait till the year 2000?' This is absolute nonsense.

I am not a political leader. I am not an administrator. I am not an academic but I am with the poorest of the poor all the time. Therefore, as a true representative of the poor, I would say that the time has come when not only the communities have to be involved in the development process but more so the establishments have to be involved with the poor because they too have to undergo terrific change if the poor are to truly benefit.

Can we organize community involvement and participation programmes into governmental and inter-governmental services so that they could meaningfullly fit in? If we agree on certain basic principles of development we can do this.

There must be a common language of development which is equally intelligible to the elite and poor alike. We must stand on common ground. We should not take for granted that communities, because they are poor, or because they are illiterate, are also ignorant. Sometimes the most enlightened people are the illiterate and under-trodden people are the illiterate and under-trodden people, because they have learnt through the university of life, the university of suffering. They have survived in spite of the fact that they have to walk eight to ten miles to get a bucket of water to drink. Therefore, it is very essential that on certain basic

principles we should agree before we plan our programmes.

Development should be for the benefit of every human being. Development is not the mere production of goods and services and forgetting about the fact whether they have reached the people or not. Human beings should be the target of all development. The last in society should be our first concern. Development should start from below; not from top downwards. Development should start with what people have their knowledge and their resources. Every community is in a process of development and has reached a particular technological level peculiar to that community. We have to start from that level, unless we can have the magic of giving them the best overnight, which is impossible. Then get the total community to participate in this process of decision making.

As much as we are concerned about their health - they too are more concerned about their health. When they are told that every six hours 4000 people die of malnutrition in this world, they themselves can understand this in reference to their own community. Now if you take the ten basic human needs I outlined and break them down to about 400 parts with them, which we have done and put it before the community they are capable of recognizing those fundamental needs which can be satisfied by their own efforts. That is an education for the community. Without education, without an awakening process, no participation can come about.

Today in my own country (I am sure this is the same in many other poor countries), there are a number of queues, people lining up, you can see. If you go to a co-operative store, you see people lining up to buy their rations. If you go to a member of Parliament's house, there will be people lining up to get a chit to get jobs. You go to the health service or medical clinic, people will be queing up there too to get medicine. Can't we turn these queues the other way. We can. And what is the principle of doing this? Make those very people for whom our services are meant not only the receivers but also the initiators of these service programmes. Then as I mentioned we, who belong to non-governmental or governmental organizations, do not have to waste most of our time trying to organize the community. The communities have the potential to organize themselves. Others have only to give the freedom and opportunities they need.

Government should essentially render other services which create the environment and supplement people's efforts. Firstly the government should give them social justice under the law. Government can give the expertise wherever necessary. Government can divide its resources according to the needs of the people, government can create that psychological atmosphere where the people can feel free for self-development. Governments can bring them face to face with the highest developments in the fields of medicine or health or technology when they are of benefit to and appropriate for the people. Leave the governments to do those big things. Give the people the freedom to organize themselves to see to it that every pre-school child in the community gets those services of nutrition, health care and a good atmosphere leading to social and mental development.

In our countries we have in the age groups of 18 to 30 or 35 - many hundreds and thousands of young people who are unemployed - unemployed not only in the sense of getting no income but also not having any useful work to do, which is very frustrating. It would not cost the government very much to take in these young people and give them a training in basic essential health care for a period of three months or so. Being a non-governmental body we are training at one time about three hundred such people so that every three months we are able to start 300 new children's services centres.

You may call her a primary health care worker or pre-school worker or a young sister doing children's services in the village. There have been statistically proven improvements in the level of health of the groups they serve. There has been an improvement in the cohesive nature of the community they serve leading to self-development. There has been an all-round understanding that, after all it is self-reliance and co-operation on the part of the people that can bring about a change. I am emphasizing this aspect of people's initiative and leadership very much because what we decide for them in international conferences is not put into concrete practice at that lowest level.

We have had many visitors from international organizations seeing our programme in action but hardly any development administrator from my own country has visited us. Why is this? People are ready to get involved, participate and work, as long as

they know that the programme is an honest and genuine effort to bring about development. They are ready to co-operate. I have yet to come across a community that did not co-operate, but we - the educated, the elite are not ready.

I have been a community worker for over twenty five years. Some political leaders turn round to me and ask, 'What are you doing? I am sure you are trying to do politics'. Some administrators, turn round and say 'development is none of your business'. In other words either I have to turn to be a politician or find an administrative job else-where. In the same breath they say people should participate in development.

There should be a total awakening process not only on the part of the poor people but also on the part of the administrators and the leaders of our countries. This awakening cannot come about unless they all come down to the grassroots and work with the people. Over a period of time, the health administrators of our countries too should come down and serve as primary health care workers at the village level. Then only a psychological integration can come about. The WHO has accepted, as a principle, the involvement of the community in health care work and the importance of the primary health care services. I would ask you to make a survey of our own medical practitioners and find out how many of them agree to this view. Most of them think that the level of their professional excellence is brought down by people's involvement. This mystified nature of the medical profession has to undergo a fundamental change. We need, like in China, the recognition of the need for and the value of bare-foot doctors. 85 per cent of our illnesses, you all have mentioned, can be prevented at the basic level. 85 per cent of our money should go there. But do we do it? When the political leadership asks from the health budget, 75 per cent to put up new hospitals, do you oppose it as a profession and say 'Please do not do it, spend more money for the preventive services'. This is not done. Why? Because there is not enough experience and commitment among those who decide for our communities. Therefore there should be a concerted effort on your part to awaken our people, to get them into action, to give more knowledge, to train personnel from their own community and to send them back to the community. There also must be an educational process for the people who man these services at the

top. Then only can we realise our objectives and the lofty ideal of the health of all.

I am talking as a man who has to face these problems everyday. That is why I am talking with a feeling of conviction. Coming to concrete action programmes that we can implement at village level, I would mention again that Primary Health Care should be a part of an integrated programme of development. A lot of money and time and energy must be spared to be spent to bring the knowledge right down to the grassroots, in a simple and intelligible way. I do not think this is happening very much compared to the volume of high technical papers that are being produced. Very simple manuals should be prepared to be used at that level. We need a lot like that on every subject.

Now let me briefly mention how a Sarvodaya programme begins in a village. Our first objective is to build a psycho-social infrastructure in the village. When a village wants to join this Movement, we say 'all right let us organize a shramadana camp enabling us to do a labour intensive task while living together for three days'. By that what I mean is that the village community with those who come from outside, spend time living together, cooking together, eating together, discussing together, singing and dancing together and doing a community service project for two or three days according to a certain time table. To that camp we invite all the government personnel at the community level to participate as equals with the people. This is to break psychological barriers that exist. There are barriers of dependency and patronage - and barriers of superiority and inferiority complexes. All these have to be broken down because a psychological infrastructure has to be created not only among the members of the community but also among the people who serve the community.

While people live together like that for a period of time, they may contruct a series of latrines, wells, soakpits or tank bunds or a road to the village so that all share the joys of a beneficial physical achievement. But the most important outcome in the first stage is the opportunity the people get to think together, to plan together, to work together, and to feel that they have a great potential for self-development. This is community education in a true sense.

We next come to a stage of organizing a mothers' group. Mothers' group selects one or two willing girls between the ages

of 18 and 30 based on criteria commonly set to be sent for a period of training to a Sarvodaya Development Education Institute. We have six large Institutes of this type and several smaller ones. Training is also a type of community living. There you do not see any marked difference between trainers and students. They all live together and share experiences as members of one large family. Our Regional Director Dr. Herat Gunaratne and several of you have seen these institutes. They learn theory through practice, so that within three months you can give them maximum practical knowledge. When those young people come back to the village, they not only take with them certain skills in the PHC field but they also take with them certain changed attitudes. They would not come back to the village as persons with certificates. We do not give certificates. Only after two or three years we give a certificate for exemplary, creative and innovative type of work.

It is not for certificates that these people come. We are not paying them any salary. They first learn the science of serving their people and receive the joy of living by learing the art of loving their fellow men. This service is known as a pre-employment voluntary service. We believe that the government will say one day - 'Well, we pay 50 or 200 rupees per month to that village level worker because he or she has proved her worth in taking care of our children. Let all the 23,000 villages of our country have the services of such inspired and trained youth'.

The mothers' groups in the villages have to be in general charge of the children while the pre-school girls are in training. The youth groups in the villages put up the required buildings with local material. Other elders in the community help in these activities. When the trained youths return to the village it becomes very easy for them to start the Day Care Centres for children below 3 years of age, pre-schools for those between 2 and 6 years of age, community kitchens for the needy, pre-natal and post-natal care for mothers and child welfare activities for children with help from the public health midwife, Immunization and Environmental Sanitation Programmes with the help of Public Health Inspectors, home gardening campaigns and other community services. They maintain health cards for children and establish working contacts with governmental medical and health care personnel.

This is how we have tried to bridge the gap between the available governmental services and the real needs of the people. However it is not always that we get the willing co-operation of the governmental extension services. Therefore we have obtained the services of a group of doctors, nurses and health persons as volunteers who make use of their leave to come and help our village health projects in such situations.

If the governmental services give official support to voluntary bodies to organize mothers, children and youth in this manner without trying to lay down the law for them the outcome will be tremendous. Instructing the local bodies to assist the up-keep of workers and provide the basic material, providing the medical and health personnel to help the programme, making available simple health education and primary health care manuals are some of the ways that the government can help these people's efforts. Then the governmental resources would have been utilized much more effectively than it happens now.

Let me speak a few words about research. This is another area that needs demystification. We also do research at the village level. Not high powered research but very simple research useful to the people and the results of which become common knowledge to all people of the community.

Let me give an example. Everybody needs water for their personal use. We do research to find out how much hygienic water each member of the family needs a day and the total number of gallons of water the whole family needs. Similarly how much all families in the village need. In actual fact how much of water is available in the existing wells and how many more new wells have to be dug to give the village an adequate and a clean supply of water. A group of village youth with a simple training becomes the initiators of the research programme that is carried out with the villagers themselves. Next they become the well-diggers all-together once the research is over.

Now to build up these wells, they have to find money for cement, bricks etc. Either the government has to have a system whether through local bodies or through relevant ministries, when such a programme is going on, to give the material that is necessary or non-governmental organization has to support them. This also means that the village needs a group of young men and women who are skilled in certain technologies of well

construction, house construction, toilet construction, etc. So this leads to a Movement of regeneration of the quality of village life. So I would plead with you to look on this as total process one leading to another.

The village communities have to get committed to bring about better health as an integral part of total development. Those who are more fortunate than others to be in a position of making decisions that affect the people also have to make a serious commitment. This is much more difficult than awakening the village communities because vested interests are more in decision-making groups unlike in regard to the village people. So, if you face facts, we have to bring about commitments either by persuasion or by compulsion, if the governments really mean what they say. We have to get both these groups awakened as to the danger that we all are facing in the years to come and pull their weight together to avert it and promote good health for all.

To bring about a more healthy life for our communities we have to bring about changes in three related areas. Firstly, we have to bring about psychological changes, I have been talking about. Secondly, we have to bring about changes in methodologies and techniques where we try out not only the methods and techniques coming from top to bottom, but also think of those that have been evolved from bottom up. The latter could be linked to the national services. Thirdly, structural changes This has to be elaborated upon a little.

To stress on the importance of changing structures permit me to give an illustration of a village experience. There was a high incidence of infective hepatitis that was prevailing in one of our villages where a primary health care worker was functioning. She found that at one time as many as twelve families had this desease. When she explored into the root of it she found that the source of water - which was running stream through the village - was being polluted by a newly started factory. Those who imposed the factory on the village did not look into how their actions would affect the health of the villagers. Are we turning a blind eye to this type of situation and only try to repair the damage done?

We have to turn our attention to structural incongruencies and injustices that are imposed on our peoples. If a poor farmer has to pay 100% interest for a loan he obtains for his cultivation purposes, how can we expect him to buy sufficient food for his

family? While accepting realities of our involvement in various specialized fields, such as health, when coming down to the realities of community poverty and ill-health let us not forget the need to liberate them from social, economic and political structures that are unjust. Consequently, a psychological, methodological and structural change is very necessary to bring about community progress.

One last word. I was talking about the environment. I think environment not only includes air or soil or water but it also includes very much the mental and psychological atmosphere we live in. There is a terrific pollution that is taking place in our psycho-sphere. There is an increasingly prevailing pollution taking place in our minds as a result of greed, hatred and ignorance that we nurture in this world. Therefore, all these things I was talking about have to happen in an environment where the spiritual values have to be brought to the fore-front in our times too. Especially those of us who live in the Asian Region have to remember this. Let me repeat what Dr. Herat Gunaratne said:

'May all beings be well and happy
May no harm fall on anybody
May we look only at the good of others
May nobody suffer because of my actions'.

This should be all the time in the foremost of our minds. I believe a spiritual reawakening of mankind is as much a crying need if we are to advance our target from the year1977 to 2000.

SHARING OF LABOUR

'Are you happy?' I asked the farmer.

'Of course, Yes, but why do you ask?' I was silent for a moment. Why did I ask him that question?....'

'Are you happy?' I asked the farmer.

'Of course, Yes, but why do you ask?' I was silent for a moment. Why did I ask him that question?....'

The farmer's name was Kawwa, but he was also known as Vedamahattaya. Vedamahattaya in the Sinhala language means a practitioner of traditional medicine. Like any other farmer of his village, Kawwa earned his livelihood by cultivating his fields - three acres of low land and two acres of high land. In addition, he attended to the minor ailments of the villagers. Attending the sick was a traditional service that has been carried out by his family for several generations. His village, Kuruketiyawa, is one of the 23,000 villages of Sri Lanka. To arrive there took me a four-hour drive from the capital, Colombo, along a main road, followed by one-and-a-half gruelling hours by jeep on a cart track through the thick forest.

Kawwa had just returned from a journey on his own bullockcart which took him a whole day. I arrived just as he had unharnessed the bullocks and removed his under-shirt. Bare bodied from the waist up, he looked at me with a smile.

'How about the others in your village? Are they happy?' I asked again.

'That is not a question for me to answer. But if I may express an opinion I would say that most people of my generation in this village are happy. But I do not think that the younger generation is as happy.'

'I am 78. But I can still work as much as six of our modern youth put together.'

'Can you tell me why the younger generation is not happy?'

'That is a long story. Give me a few minutes. Please take a seat till I come back.'

Kawwa went inside his house an old yet sturdy house made of wattle and daub and several layers of thatched hay on the roof. He came out in a loin cloth and briskly walked towards the two animals tied to a coconut tree. He untied them, took them to the backyard near a pool and started bathing them. He fondly washed the two beasts as if bathing his own children, in fact, he addressed them as 'Putha' (son). He tied them up again, gave them food, returned to the well, bathed himself, milked the cow and came back to me. It was dusk now.

He knew that I was from the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka, a grass-roots movement working in nearly 1,500 villages to promote people's self-help. Sarvodaya means awakening of all and Shramadana is sharing of labour. The Movement has just started in Kuruketiyawa and Kawwa was instrumental in getting us there. I was going to spend the night in the village as his guest. Seated in the verandah, the old man started to talk again.

'Happiness is a state of mind.You cannot buy it with money. You can only develop it by a proper understanding of life. The present generation is fast losing an understanding of what life is about. Everybody is looking for jobs where you do the least and are paid the maximum. Then they have an ever-growing array of desires which all the money in the world cannot buy.' 'You are a native physician. Don't you think that health is the most important basic need for us?'

'Undoubtedly, health is the beginning and end of all our efforts, but remember, to bring about health so many other factors have to be satisfied at the same time. We have to look at the individual, the family, the village - and even the nation and the world as one integrated unit. Then we have to look at the immediate surroundings and strive to initiate a process of self-development with what we have at our disposal. Then we can reach a healthy state of living.'

'You mentioned basic human needs. In your opinion, what are the basic human needs of your own village community?'

Instead of continuing the conversation Kawwa got up and said: 'The fourth basic human need according to me is food. So now you may come in and share our meal.'

I followed Kawwa into the house and ate one of the tastiest meals I have ever had with him. Apart from, perhaps, salt, everything was from the village itself. With my meagre knowledge of nutrition I thought it was a balanced meal.

After dinner we walked to the temple built on an elevated place to which many men, women and children were coming for a 'family gathering'. While we waited for them I asked Kawwa: 'How is it that you think food is the fourth basic human need and not the first?'

According to him, what we may call in modern jargon, 'a healthy psychological, physical and social infrastructure' is the first need for a human being. He stressed that 'a clean and beautiful environment both in the physical and mental sense' was the first basic human need.

'What is your second priority?'

'An adequate supply of clean water, firstly for our personal use and secondly for agriculture.'

'The third ....?'

'The third basic human need is clothing. We first cover our shame before we think of our stomach. The man without shame is not a civilized person.'

'Then of course comes food. And what are the other basic human needs?'

'In order of priority I would put them as housing, health care, roads and communication, fuel, education, and spiritual and cultural needs.'

Family Gathering

We could proceed no further that evening after the 'family gathering' began with a few minutes of religious observations and silent meditation. From talking to Kawwa and many such other leaders in our villages, I was convinced that we outsiders had almost nothing to offer them by way of advice on their philosophy of life. There was so much that we could learn from them. All they needed was recognition as human beings, some material assistance and the know-how about appropriate technology to meet their basic human needs.

The villagers decided to organize a series of Shramadana (gift of labour) camps by which they would be able to improve their roads, dig wells, repair the tanks and existing irrigation canals, dig pits for toilets and put up a children's centre where pre-school education, health care, and nutrition programmes could be carried out. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement was to help them by providing trained personnel, building materials, supplementary food, seeds, tools and equipment. Above all, they would be linked with the other Sarvodaya villages in the country.

I asked Kawwa what he meant by self-development. His reply was: 'Thirty years of freedom have not freed our village from false values, rivalries and imported goods at the expense of village crafts. Many have become unemployed because this new system has no use for their traditional skills. The schooling system has created literate but uneducated people; because an educated man not only knows how to read and write, but is also disciplined and hard working.

'If we are to rebuild our villages we have to begin at the beginning where we have to depend on ourselves. That is why I was attracted to Sarvodaya; that is what I meant by self-development.'

'In your list of basic human needs you did not mention employment or income. Don't you think these are also important human needs?'

'These are not needs, these are only the means to achieve those needs. What is the use of income if that money is spent on drinking, gambling and collecting all types of luxuries that cannot give you true happiness. We have good earth and surely we can make our limbs work to produce the food we need and the houses and wells we require.'

'What about basic health care in your village? What about a hospital for your village? What about a doctor for your village?'

'There again you are on the wrong track. The art of healthy living is a part of our culture. In the good old days, we drank water from pure springs in our wells. With this indiscriminate destruction of vegetation, construction of roads, culverts and bridges without taking into consideration the total physical nature of the area, these springs have been destroyed. Now you ask us to drink boilded cooled water. We agree, but you also must remember in a few years'

time we will not have enough firewood for us even to boil our water.

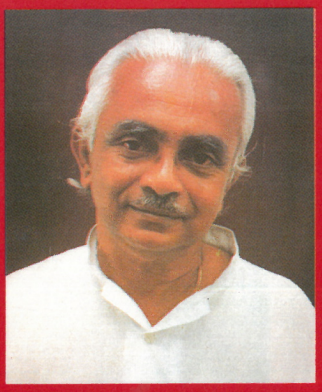
'Lately we have been getting visits from health personnel. What I stress is that they should not come here as extension arms of government or of hospitals. They should come here to help us in our efforts, so that the responsibility for health becomes our problem and helping us then becomes the duty of the government.

'Going to hospitals has become a fashion. There are some cases which should go to hospitals, but these will be very few if we organize the community within the village so as to satisfy the human needs I mentioned earlier. I once took my wife to a doctor in the city, and was ashamed of the way he treated us. First of all, he asked me to pay him before he examined my wife. I am not a doctor in that sense, but the simple medicines I give would never work if I charged money for them. In our tradition a doctor should never ask for a fee; whatever donation a patient likes to make in cash or in kind is left on the table. He doesn't treat it as payment. Sometimes the native doctor spends out of his own pocket buying medicines for the poor who cannot afford them. I think what we need is not grand hospitals but educated young men and women of medicine who will love their people and learn to get the joy of living from service.'

An Ancient Philosophy

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka was founded on an ancient development philosophy, a glimpse of which was given in my conversation with Kawwa. The Movement's programme is based on the objective of satisfying the basic human needs outlined by him.

Already in more than 1,500 villages self-development programmes have been initiated. It is an integrated programme of village re-awakening where the initiative is taken by village leaders themselves such as Kawwa. Under their mature leadership are developed groups such as Pre-school Children's Formations, Youth Formations, Mothers' Formations, Farmers' Formations and General Elders' Formations. Representatives of these groups constitute a Gramoday Mandalaya (Village Awakening Council) in every village, and this council in turn bears the over-all responsibility for the village's self-development programme.



Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne is the Founder/Leader of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka. Four decades ago, he worked in a rural village and together with the people, developed a philosophy and a Movement which is known as Sarvodaya. In it, the awakening of everyone is symbolised. Today it has spread into many parts of Sri Lanka and to some parts of the world too.

Ariyaratne was inspired by Vinobha Bhave and Mahatma Gandhi. Buddhistic experiences in Sri Lanka were added to this inspiration. Today the Movement works for everyone, regardless of race, creed, caste or colour. It is a unique philosophy based on potential greatness of human beings.

In these seven volumes what Ariyaratne wrote during the last four decades are collected. The beginning of Sarvodaya and its gradual development are reflected here. As Ariyaratne travelled around the world the influences he encountered and how he looked at such influences are seen in these volumes. The essays are refreshingly original and they contain what man should do in order to establish peace within himself and with the world. Ariyaratne's essays are a tribute to his spiritual explorations into himself and into the world.

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